HEROES OF THE NATIONS

Library

CHESTER
COLLEGE

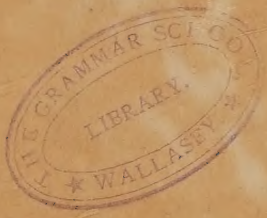
WITHDRAWN

Donation

SB.5.

Q4C

Accession no.
01004423
WITHDRAWN
920 C



Heroes of the Nations

EDITED BY

H. W. C. Davis, C.B.E., M.A.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY,
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

FACTA DUCIS VIVENT, OPEROSAQUE
GLORIA RERUM——OVID, IN LIVIAM, 255
THE HERO'S DEEDS AND HARD-WON
FAME SHALL LIVE.

CAVOUR

CAMILLO CAVOUR
From an engraving by Calamatta

CAVOUR

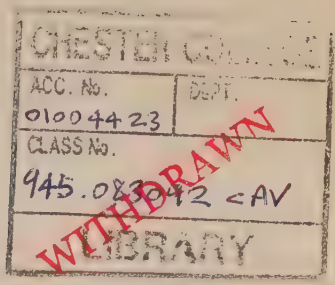
AND THE MAKING OF MODERN ITALY

1810–1861

BY

PIETRO ORSI

Of the University of Padua
and of the Royal Superior Institute of Venice


CHESTER
ACC. No. 01004423
DEPT.
CLASS No. 945.083042 <AV
WITHDRAWN
LIBRARY

LONDON & NEW YORK
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, LTD.

First Published 1914
New Edition 1926

Made and Printed in Great Britain at the
Botolph Printing Works, Gate Street, Kingsway, W.C.2

INTRODUCTION

Italia, too! Italia! looking on thee,
Full flashes on the Soul the light of ages,
Since the fierce Carthaginian almost won thee,
To the last halo of the Chiefs and Sages
Who glorify thy consecrated pages.
Thou wert the throne and grave of empires; still,
The fount at which the panting Mind assuages
Her thirst of knowledge, quaffing there her fill,
Flows from the eternal so rce of Rome's imperial hill.

BYRON: *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto III.

NO other country in the world can boast, as Italy can, that for more than two thousand years her history has been always fascinating, always full of glory and misfortune, of enthusiasm and passion. For in general those nations which, like Greece, played a glorious part in the ancient world, have never again enjoyed a period of equal fame, either in the Middle Ages or in modern times. Italy alone numbers many brilliant pages in each of the epochs into which the history of humanity is commonly divided. This explains why, in all the literature of the world, the references to the Italian peninsula are so frequent. It is enough to remember, for instance, the Roman and Italian plays of Shakespeare in order to be at once con-

vinced of the lively interest that she has always aroused in the civilised world.

It is true that from Shakespeare's time to Byron's Italy seemed to be dead. The foreigner who visited the peninsula was able to neglect its people, and to devote his attention solely to its monuments of art and archæology, and to the beauty of its scenery. The Italian people seemed dead, but it was only in a state of lethargy, and when it awoke it once more accomplished feats that are worthy of Roman valour. So there came again, in Italy's history, a glorious epoch—the one that we speak of as her Revival (*Risorgimento*). It was a real revolution, truly noble in the high ideals that inspired it, in the heroic deeds that were achieved, and in the magnanimous conduct of the Italian people, which knew how to attain its purpose without disgracing itself by unworthy violence.

In this Revival of Italy there emerged many splendidly patriotic figures, genuine examples of every virtue that is most admired. But three in particular excel: the thinker and apostle, Joseph Mazzini; the statesman, Camillo Cavour; and the popular hero, Joseph Garibaldi, who was the highest expression of what is most generous in the Italian character.[1] In this triumvirate, the man who knew how to discipline all the forces of the country, to co-ordinate them, and to lead them

[1] Of recent publications about Garibaldi three books by G. Macaulay Trevelyan deserve special mention: *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic; Garibaldi and The Thousand; Garibaldi and the Making of Italy.*

towards the common goal, the one who succeeded in crystallising into facts the hopes of all, was Camillo Cavour, and for this reason the story of his deeds becomes quite naturally a history of the process by which Italian unity was brought about.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION iii

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST SHOCK TO THE OLD EDIFICE . 3

The secular divisions of Italy—Condition of the peninsula in the second half of the 18th century: lack of union, of independence, and of liberty—Rebound of the French Revolution—Overthrow of all the States of Italy—Increase of the middle class and its political aspirations—The generation born in the Napoleonic period will be the one that is to make the Italy of to-day.

CHAPTER II

THE RESTORATION AND THE MILITARY REVOLUTIONS OF 1820–1821 17

The war of independence proclaimed by Joachim Murat; King Joachim's miserable end—The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies—Growth of the Kingdom of Sardinia and the Austrian dominions—The Papal States and the smaller States—Character of the Restoration—Napoleon I.'s prediction—The revolution of Naples of 1820; intervention of Austria and restoration of absolutism—The Piedmontese revolution of 1821; Charles Albert—Triumph of the reaction—Patriot-martyrs.

CHAPTER III

TEN YEARS LATER: APPEARANCE OF MAZZINI AND CAVOUR 45

The new generation—Rebound of the French

PAGE

Revolution of 1830—Cyrus Menotti and the revolution of 1831—Mazzini's youth; his imprisonment—Cavour sub-lieutenant of engineers; his liberal ideas.

CHAPTER IV

THE APOSTOLATE OF MAZZINI, AND CAVOUR'S PREPARATION FOR POLITICS 61

Mazzini in exile; unionist propaganda—*Young Italy* and the expedition into Savoy, 1834—Cavour renounces the military career—His political convictions—His travels—Cavour a man of affairs.

CHAPTER V

PROGRESS OF LIBERAL IDEAS 75

Application of machinery to industry—The first railways in Italy—Development of the middle class—Patriotic literature and scientific congresses—Gioberti's *Il Primato d'Italia*—The brothers Bandiera—The *New Guelf* party—Condition of the Papal States—Reawakening of patriotic aspirations in Charles Albert.

CHAPTER VI

REFORMS AND ENTHUSIASMS 89

Enthusiasm for Pius IX—Reforms in the Papal States, Tuscany and Piedmont—Cavour as a journalist—Condition of Lombardy-Venetia and the Duchies of Modena and Parma—Ferdinand II of Naples—The Sicilian revolution and the concession of a Constitution to Naples—Charles Albert grants the Statute—*Benedite, o gran Dio, l'Italia!*

CHAPTER VII

1848: THE YEAR OF ILLUSIONS AND OF POETRY 107

Venice and Milan free themselves from Austrian dominion—The war of independence—The Parlia-

PAGE

ments of Sicily, Naples, Rome, Tuscany, and Piedmont —Austrian victories and armistice—Garibaldi—Ferdinand II. makes war against Sicily—Flight of the Pope and the Grand Duke—Piedmont at the beginning of 1849.

CHAPTER VIII

1849: The Year of Sacrifices and Martyrdoms 131

The defeat of Novara and Charles Albert's abdication—The Ten Days of Brescia—Sicily and Naples—Restoration of the Grand Duke to Florence—The Roman Republic: Mazzini and Garibaldi—The resistance of Venice: Daniel Manin.

CHAPTER IX

The Policy of Concentration in Piedmont (D'Azeglio-Cavour Ministry) . . 147

The youth of Victor Emmanuel II.—Gloomy opening of the reign—Massimo D'Azeglio as Prime Minister—The peace with Austria, and the proclamation of Moncalieri—The Siccardi laws, and Cavour's first success as an orator—Exasperation and violence of the Clerical party—Cavour as Minister of Agriculture and Commerce—His predominance in the Ministry—Cavour as Minister of Finance—The *Re Galantuomo*—Gioberti's *Civil Regeneration of Italy*—The *connubio* of Cavour with Rattazzi—Cavour's exit from the D'Azeglio Ministry—He becomes Prime Minister.

CHAPTER X

Reaction in the Other States of Italy, and Mazzini's Propaganda . . . 173

The Neapolitan trials and Gladstone's letters—The Papacy as the centre of the reaction: Cardinal Antonelli

PAGE

—Brigandage in the States of the Church—Restoration of the Grand Duke in Tuscany—Condition of Modena —Villainies of Charles III. of Parma ; his assassination—Hostility of Lombardy-Venetia to the foreign domination ; the Mazzinist conspiracies—The Mantuan trials and the Milanese movement of Feb. 6, 1853—Mazzini loses prestige.

CHAPTER XI

CAVOUR'S BEGINNINGS AS PRIME MINISTER . 193

The mission of Piedmont—Its moral progress under the Cavour Ministry—Its assertion of Italian nationality ; the memorandum of 1853—Alliance with the Western Powers ; discussions in the Chamber—Suppression of the religious corporations ; Massimo D'Azeglio's letter—Victory of the Piedmontese at the Tchernaja—Victor Emmanuel II. goes to Paris and London—Daniel Manin and his propaganda in favour of Piedmont—Garibaldi at Caprera.

CHAPTER XII

THE ITALIAN QUESTION AT THE CONGRESS OF PARIS, AND ITS RESULTS 215

Cavour at the Congress of Paris—Discussion of the Italian question ; Buol and Cavour—Cavour's bold words in the Subalpine Parliament—The *National Society ;* concentration of Italian life in Piedmont—France and England break off diplomatic relations with Naples—Change of Austrian policy in Lombardy-Venetia : rupture of diplomatic relations between Piedmont and Austria—The unfortunate Mazzinist expedition to Sapri—Universal confidence in Cavour; his habits of life and work.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MEETING OF PLOMBIÈRES 235

Napoleon III. and the principle of nationality—

PAGE

The Orsini plot—Cavour's speech to the Chamber—Cavour at Plombières (July, 1858) ; verbal compact with Napoleon III.—Cavour's colloquy with Garibaldi —Preparations for war.

CHAPTER XIV

"An Interesting Winter" . . . 249

Victor Emmanuel and "the cry of woe"—Marriage of the Princess Clotilde with Prince Napoleon—Armaments of Austria and Piedmont—The exertions of diplomacy, and Napoleon III.'s wavering attitude —Bellicose tendencies of the Court of Vienna—Cavour's skilful efforts—A tragical moment—Austria's ultimatum and the outbreak of the war—Proclamations by Victor Emmanuel and Francis Joseph.

CHAPTER XV

"Begone from Italia, O Stranger, Begone!" 273

The war of 1859 : Palestro, Magenta, Solferino, and San Martino—Cavour as Foreign Minister, Minister of Home Affairs, and Minister of War and Marine—The most peaceful of the revolutions : flight of the Grand Duke of Tuscany from Florence—The revolution at Parma, at Modena, and in Romagna—The preliminaries of Villafranca—Cavour resigns office.

CHAPTER XVI

Italian Ability and English Sympathy . 295

Uncertainty of the situation—Energetic action of Farini and Ricasoli, and good sense of the populations of Central Italy—Peace of Zurich—The English Government favours the Italian cause—Napoleon III. and the Pope—Cavour returns to power—The question of Savoy and Nice : cession of those territories to France ; Garibaldi's sorrow—The plebiscites

PAGE

of Tuscany and Emilia—Opening of the new Parliament.

CHAPTER XVII

THE HEROIC ENTERPRISE OF THE *THOUSAND* 307

Cavour and the unity of Italy—Preparation of the expedition of the *Thousand;* Cavour's doubts and fears; his favourable decision—Landing of Garibaldi at Marsala and his victories in Sicily—Vain concessions by King Francis II.—Garibaldi enters Naples in triumph—Victor Emmanuel's army occupies the Marches and Umbria—Military glory and political success—Lord John Russell's eulogies—Italy constitutes herself a nation without any sacrifice of liberty.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PROCLAMATION OF THE KINGDOM OF ITALY 327

Opening of the first Italian Parliament—Proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy—Indignation of Austria and of the Pope—Cavour and the reconstruction of the Ministry—First seeds sown for the conquest of Venetia.

CHAPTER XIX

CAVOUR'S LAST AUDACITY 337

The Roman question—Secret negotiations with the Curia—Discussion in the Chamber; Cavour's speeches of March 25 and 27, 1861: *Free Church in Free State*—Rome acclaimed capital by Parliament—Painful dissension between Garibaldi and Cavour; their reconciliation—Death of the great Minister (June 6, 1861.)

CHAPTER XX

THE COMPLETION OF NATIONAL UNITY . . 351

Internal difficulties of the new Kingdom—The

PAGE

Roman question: Aspromonte; the convention of Sept. 15, 1864; removal of the capital to Florence —The war of 1866 and the annexation of Venetia— Garibaldi in the Papal States; intervention of the French, and battle of Mentana—Occupation of Rome (Sept. 20, 1870)—The Law of Guarantees—Removal of the capital to Rome—Conclusion.

INDEX 373

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

CAMILLO CAVOUR . . . . *Frontispiece*
From an engraving by Calamatta.

VITTORIO ALFIERI 8
From the painting by Fabre in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.
From a photo by Alinari.

GIUSEPPE PARINI 10
From a contemporary print.

NAPOLEON AT ARCOLE 12
From the painting by Gros in the Louvre, Paris.
From a photo by Alinari.

NAPOLEON AS FIRST CONSUL 14
From the painting by Isabey, at Versailles.
From a photo by Alinari.

JOACHIM MURAT 18
From an engraving.

PALAZZO CARIGNANO, TURIN. THE SEAT OF THE PIEDMONTESE PARLIAMENT 148
From a photo by Brogi.

MARIE LOUISE, DUCHESS OF PARMA . . 24
From the painting by Borghesi.
From a photo by Alinari.

PAGE

MAZZINI AS A YOUNG MAN 50
From a contemporary print.

CAMILLO CAVOUR AS A YOUNG MAN . . 54

FACSIMILE OF CAVOUR'S BIRTH CERTIFICATE . 52

CAMILLO CAVOUR 216
From a photograph.

LUIGI CARLO FARINI 84
From a contemporary print.

THE QUIRINAL, ROME 370
From a photo by Alinari.

FACSIMILE OF "IL RISORGIMENTO" FOR MARCH 23, 1848 108

GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI 140
Photo by Alfieri Lacroix.

VINCENZO GIOBERTI 126
From an engraving.

FACSIMILE OF AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM CAVOUR 328

PALAZZO DEL CAMPIDOGLIO, MUNICIPAL BUILDING, ROME 136
From a photo by Alinari.

THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN VICTOR EMMANUEL II. AND GENERAL RADETZKY . . . 150
From the painting by Pietro Aldi in the Palazzo della Signoria, Siena.
From a photo by Alinari.

PAGE

GEN. A. LA MARMORA 204
From a contemporary print, 1859.

CAMILLO CAVOUR 168
From a contemporary print, 1859.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL 298
From the engraving by D. J. Pound.
After the photo by Mayall.

A CARICATURE OF CAVOUR 196
From a contemporary print.

MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO 150
From a contemporary print.

THE MILANESE MONUMENT TO THE SARDINIAN ARMY (by Vela, Turin). 222
From a photograph.

THE MONUMENT TO CARLO ALBERTO . . 132
By Marocchetti, Turin.
From a photo by Brogi.

PALAZZO CAVOUR, TURIN 70
Where Cavour was born and died.
From a photograph.

PALAZZO REALE, TURIN 92
From a photo by Brogi.

VICTOR EMMANUEL II. 148
From a contemporary print.

PRINCE NAPOLEON 242
From a contemporary print.

PAGE

GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI AS A PIEDMONTESE GENERAL 246
From a contemporary print, 1859.

PALAZZO MADAMA, TURIN 248
From a photo by Alinari.

PRINCESS CLOTILDE 252
From a painting by Herbert.

THE BATTLE OF SAN MARTINO 276

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON 300
From the engraving by D. J. Pound.
After the photo by Mayall.

FRANCESCO CRISPI 308
From a photo by Alinari.

THE HEADQUARTERS OF GARIBALDI AT QUARTO 310
From a photo by Alinari.

NINO BIXIO 316
From a photograph.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE 176
From the engraving by D. J. Pound.
After the photo by Mayall.

MEETING OF VICTOR EMMANUEL II. WITH GARIBALDI 322
From the painting by Pietro Aldi in the Palazzo della Signoria, Siena.
From a photo by Alinari.

FACSIMILE OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE DEATH OF CAVOUR 342

PAGE

THE FUNERAL OF CAVOUR 344
From a drawing by Carlo Chessa.

SUPERGA: BASILICA 346
(The burial-place of the Savoy Dynasty.)
From a photo by Alinari.

THE HALL AND STAIRS IN THE PALAZZO MADAMA, TURIN 290
From a photo by Brogi.

BARONE BETTINO RICASOLI 284
From a contemporary print, 1860.

MAZZINI 358
From a photo by Alinari.

ENRICO CIALDINI 360
From a contemporary print, 1859.

ST. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN, ROME . . 90
From a photo by Alinari.

NAPOLEON III. 236
From a contemporary print, 1859.

THE MONUMENT TO VICTOR EMMANUEL II. IN ROME 368

PALAZZO MONTECITORIO, ROME. SEAT OF THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT 372
From a photo by Alinari.

MAP OF ITALY BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION . . . . . at end

MAP OF THE KINGDOM OF ITALY IN 1874 at end

I

THE FIRST SHOCK TO THE OLD EDIFICE

Già il procelloso turbo
  Freme inquieto sull' Alpi, e s'avvicina,
Già desta la tacente
  Fra le ruine libertà latina.

GIOVANNI FANTONI (1755–1807): *Odi.*[1]

[1] And now the furious whirlwind comes roaring over the Alps, and Latin liberty, so long silent, bestirs herself among the ruins.

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST SHOCK TO THE OLD EDIFICE

The secular divisions of Italy—Condition of the peninsula in the second half of the 18th century: lack of union, of independence, and of liberty—Rebound of the French Revolution—Overthrow of all the States of Italy—Increase of the middle class and its political aspirations—The generation born in the Napoleonic period will be the one that is to make the Italy of to-day.

THE highest and most essential possessions of a nation are independence of the foreigner, political liberty at home, and union. All three were lacking to the Italy of the 18th century.

To discover a united Italy it is necessary to go back in thought to the times of the Roman Empire. The political disintegration of Italy began with the invasion of the Northern nations, and particularly with that day of the year 568 on which the King of the Lombards, Alboin, from the height of the Julian Alps, looked down upon the rich provinces that were to be the prey of his people. For the Lombards never succeeded in conquering all the peninsula. From the first it was divided into two parts, at war with each other: the North-

ern part, conquered by the Lombards, and the Southern part, which remained under the Roman Empire of the East. Afterwards, when the power of the Byzantines in Italy was diminishing, other States arose in the territories formerly subject to them—the Republic of Venice, the temporal dominion of the Popes—and so division became more pronounced. And in the feudal period the substitution everywhere of local authorities for the central power resulted in a still greater splitting up of political life.

So long as the rest of Europe was in a similar condition the misfortune was not very serious; but when, in the age of the Renaissance, France and Spain managed to free themselves from the political anarchy of the Middle Ages, and organized themselves into powerful monarchies, a divided Italy soon became their battle ground and experienced nothing but a series of humiliations and calamities. These sorrowful consequences of political division were emphasized in the early years of the 16th century by that great thinker, that true political genius, Niccolo Macchiavelli; even then he proclaimed the necessity for the union of Italy. Yet for several centuries it still remained a dream.

The long struggle for ascendency between France and Spain in the 16th century ended with the triumph of Spain; and several regions of Italy, her richest and most flourishing provinces, fell under the Spanish dominion. Independence once

lost, it was not easily to be recovered by a divided and discordant Italy; even when, in the 18th century, the Spanish domination came to an end, other Powers found means to establish a foothold, in the peninsula. Without reckoning Corsica (which passed to France because the Republic of Genoa, realizing its powerlessness to check the rebellion of the island, had ceded it to Louis XV. in 1768) there was, in the very heart of Northern Italy, a large territory dependent on the foreigner —Lombardy, subject to Austria. The population was estimated at little more than a million, but it was a rich country, flourishing by agriculture, by commerce, and by learning, and it had for its capital Milan, one of the greatest centres of Italian life.

The rest of the peninsula was divided into eight States. Two of these were kingdoms—the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily (under the Bourbon dynasty), which numbered six million inhabitants; and the so-called Kingdom of Sardinia, which comprised, besides that island, Piedmont, Savoy and the district around Nice, with a total population of little more than three millions and was governed by the dynasty of Savoy, which had its seat at Turin in Piedmont. Both were absolute monarchies. They relied on the nobility and clergy, and took little account of the rest of the nation.

Next came the Papal States in the centre of the peninsula (with two and a half million inhabitants),

governed exclusively by priests, who regarded them as an ecclesiastical benefice to be exploited, and occupied themselves exclusively with the embellishment of Rome, in order that the splendour of the papal power might be enhanced.

There were also the two aristocratic republics of Venice and Genoa. Genoa had still a flourishing commerce, but was reduced in respect of territorial power to the coast-line of Liguria, with a population of four hundred thousand. Venice held a vast territory on the mainland, extending to the Adda, a few miles from Milan; she preserved her old possessions of Istria, Dalmatia, Albania and the Ionian Islands, with a total population of about three millions; but her commerce had greatly decayed, her military forces were in the worst condition, her ancient prestige was passing away; yet the dominant patriciate thought of nothing but its own amusement.

The Grand Duchy of Tuscany numbered nearly a million inhabitants and had lately passed under the new Hapsburg-Lorraine dynasty, represented then by a great reformer, Peter Leopold I.

Last in the list come the two Duchies of Parma and Modena, which had about four hundred thousand inhabitants each. There were also some small States, such as the Republic of Lucca, the Republic of San Marino, the principalities of Monaco and Piombino, and the Maltese group

of islands, at that time belonging to the Knights of St. John.[1]

Each State had its own history and special interests; the mutual jealousies of the rulers kept alive the old causes of dispute that existed between the several communities. Moreover, the very conformation of the peninsula necessarily hindered, so long as means of communication were slight, the growth of common ideas or interests or customs. Geographical causes intensified the effect of political divisions; and from one generation to another the people of the several regions drifted further apart.

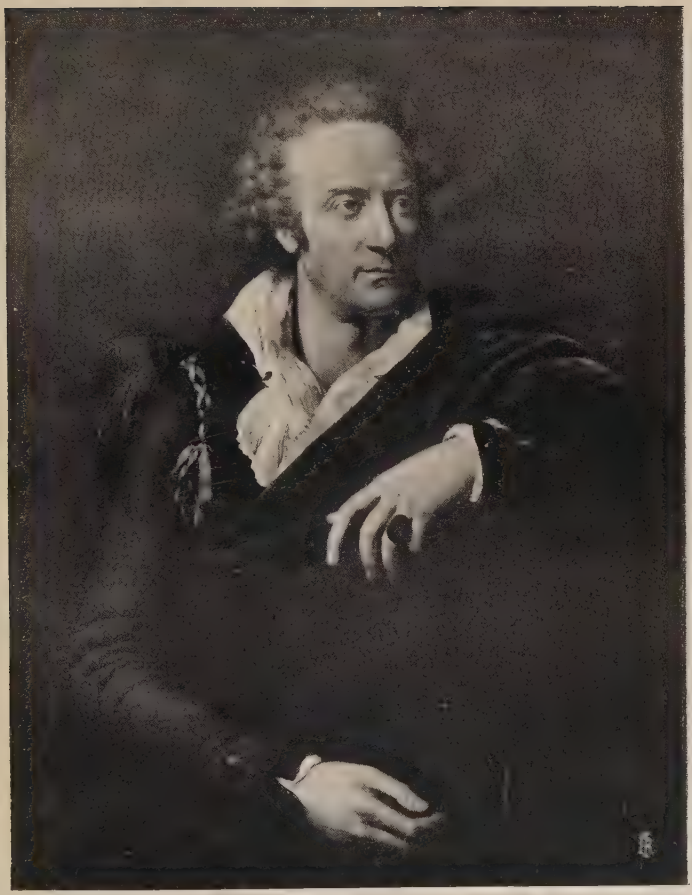
The one national bond was literature. From Dante's day it assumed that office; we may even say that it was the great Florentine poet himself, for in exile from his own city he realized what Italian brotherhood was, and he, first of all, proclaimed in precise terms the national sentiment. Thenceforward, frequent complaints of Italy's gloomy fate were heard from many illustrious writers; yet those few exalted souls who dreamed of the reconstitution of the nation contented themselves with hinting at it vaguely and did not suffer their thoughts to dwell too much upon it, for the simultaneous overthrow of all the old governments seemed to them impossible. But in the 18th century a poet of strong imagination and rebellious temperament seemed to presage the

[1] Malta was taken from the Knights of St. John by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798, but in 1800 it was occupied by the English.

new Italy. This was Victor Alfieri (1749–1803), whose thrilling verse accelerated the formation of a national consciousness. Otherwise the influence of literature at that time was very limited, for the cultured were few, and most of them enjoyed too many privileges to feel any desire for the change of existing institutions.

In every State there were two classes of privileged citizens—the nobles and the clergy. For them were all the honours, all the offices; already the richest, they were exempt from a large part of the taxes. And this high society, so greatly privileged, led a life of ease and idleness—that artificial life of show, of ceremony, one might almost say of continuous theatricalism, which characterized the Italy of the 18th century.

In Northern Italy, and also in Tuscany, there was in the 18th century a pronounced development of commerce and industry; and presently, as a consequence, arose a middle class. Its members advanced in education as their wealth increased. They were fired with enthusiasm as they learned of their country's former glories. But it was humiliating to contrast those glories with the present misery. On the other hand, becoming richer and more cultured, they had greater opportunities of meeting the nobility, and by this contact they were led to a deeper appreciation of the oppressive and odious character of the privileges from which they were excluded. Just at that time, chiefly by the work of



VITTORIO ALFIERI

From the painting by Fabre in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

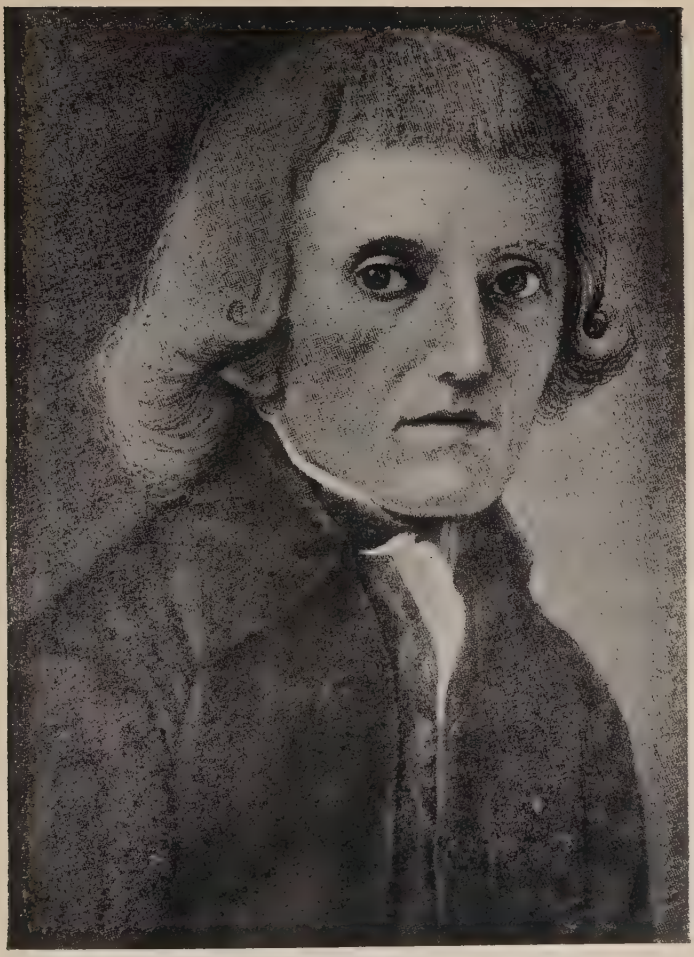
From a photo by Alinari

French writers, there was being diffused through the world a current of new ideas, whose object was especially to lessen social disorganization, to improve the judicial system and financial administration, and to promote toleration in the sphere of religion and politics. Such ideas penetrated easily into this newly formed Italian middle class, which quickly acclaimed, as the true interpreter of its thought, the Milanese poet Joseph Parini (1729–1799). In his little poem *Il Giorno*, Parini satirized with incomparable humour the useless, vicious life of the aristocracy, and contrasted with it the laborious virtues of the other social classes. Such criticisms aroused vague aspirations after a new order of things. The new ideas produced a real and wholesome effect, especially in the intellectual world of Milan and Naples; and some princes, relying on this current of public opinion, introduced reforms in their States. But the middle class, almost the only social class that entertained ideas of the kind, was too small in numbers and politically too insignificant to create a strong public opinion. In the Papal States, and in the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, commerce and industry were almost entirely lacking except in a few centres. In these States a middle class scarcely existed, and the privileged orders were confronted by none but the populace, which naturally was more numerous and more wretched than in the rest of the peninsula; the towns

swarmed with beggars, who lived on the charity of the convents and of the nobles.

. . . . . .

The French Revolution served to rouse Italy from her torpor. For the Italian middle class, animated merely by vague desires, it provided a whole system of ideas, and gave precision to indefinite aspirations. There were to be no more absolute monarchies. Not the king, but the people, should be the source of sovereignty and the spokesman of the nation. Before the law, that expression of the popular will, no distinction of birth or religion should be taken into account. These maxims of political liberty and civil equality were diffused more widely through the peninsula when, after the outbreak of war between France and Austria (to which the Kingdom of Sardinia had allied itself), the French armies descended victoriously into Italy, and overthrew the old governments. The Italian middle class, this new social element possessed of all the enthusiasm of youth, gave an ardent welcome to the new ideas and intended to carry them out. It was during those days, and in the first new State that arose in Italy after these French invasions (that is to say, in the Cispadane Republic comprising Modena and Reggio, which had revolted from their own Duke, and Bologna and Ferrara, taken by the French from the Pope), that there fluttered out for the first time the Italian tricolour,



GIUSEPPE PARINI

From a contemporary print

in which the white and red of the French flag were reproduced, but green, a colour already familiar in local military equipment, was substituted for the blue. The lightning of new hopes flickered round the emblem of a new national ideal.

From the day (January 7, 1797) when the Cispadane Congress of Reggio-Emilia adopted this national standard, not a year passed without some deed or some literary utterance indicating the way along which the great ideal was moving towards fulfilment. Strong currents of passion and hope poured through the minds of men; the masses of the people began to take an interest in public life, and the more distinguished citizens served an apprenticeship in the exercise of power by taking part in the first political assemblies which then arose in Italy.

It is true that in 1799 the French were driven out of Italy by the allied armies of Austria and Russia, and that the republican governments which the French had set up, having too slight a foundation in the country, were quickly overthrown. But even in these circumstances the new movement went on its way, for many Italians who had compromised themselves in support of the new ideas emigrated to France. Through these exiles from all parts of the peninsula, not only were the new aspirations for political and social reform invigorated, but also the national sentiment was more effectively reinforced. Some

even began to think that only with independence could an end be put to the ills of the peninsula, and that to attain and preserve independence unity was needed. So that when, after Napoleon's victory of Marengo (June 14, 1800), these exiles returned into Italy, theirs was a widened political horizon.

In a few years Napoleon conquered the whole of the Italian peninsula. All the old governments were overthrown; the House of Savoy took refuge in the island of Sardinia, and the Bourbons of Naples fled into Sicily; the Pope was made prisoner and led into France; the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Dukes of Modena and Parma left Italy; the old republics were abolished. In the face of changes so rapid and so far-reaching, those ideals which once had seemed impossible to realize now assumed a more practical aspect. But Napoleon did not reunite the whole peninsula in a single State. He made of it three parts: Piedmont, Liguria, Parma and Piacenza, Tuscany and Rome were annexed to the French Empire; Lombardy, Venice, Reggio and Modena, Romagna and the Marches formed the so-called Kingdom of Italy, which had Napoleon for its King, and for its Viceroy his step-son, Eugene Beauharnais, who resided at Milan; the Kingdom of Naples was at first under Napoleon's brother, Joseph Bonaparte, afterwards under his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat. By this division Napoleon had not given full satisfaction to the national sentiment,

NAPOLEON AT ARCOLA
From the painting by Gros in the Louvre, Paris
From a photo by Alinari

which was also wounded by the universal predominance of the French; but even this fact, and the ill-humours that resulted from it, helped to develop in ever greater degree among the more magnanimous minds the aspiration after national independence.

Meantime advanced every day that transformation of society which was afterwards to supply the firmer basis of the Italian Revival. In those years the reawakening of Italian life was prodigious. Magnificent streets were opened; commerce and industry were favoured, agriculture encouraged, learning promoted, splendid monuments erected. And, while the Civil Code reorganized society on new principles of equality, the increase of general activity gave origin to an ever more numerous, wealthier, and more cultured middle class, which, profiting by the abolition of feudalism and the suppression of many convents, acquired a considerable share of landed property, and was able by and by to take the place of an overthrown aristocracy. Many Italians distinguished themselves at that time in the administration of public affairs; many showed their valour on the battlefield and reached the highest ranks in the army. To the thoughtlessness and futility of the preceding period succeeded a more serious view of life and its duties.

These years were decisive in the preparation of the new life of Italy. The old organization of the peninsula received then the first formidable

shock; the prestige of tradition was shattered, and under the impressions derived from these events there grew up a new generation, destined to accomplish the great work of the Italian Revival.[1]

[1] To record only the three greatest builders of that wonderful edifice: Joseph Mazzini, born June 22, 1805; Joseph Garibaldi, July 4, 1807; Camillo Cavour, August 10, 1810.

NAPOLEON AS FIRST CONSUL
From the painting by Isabey, at Versailles
From a photo by Alinari

CHAPTER II

THE RESTORATION AND THE MILITARY REVOLUTIONS OF 1820–1821

The war of independence proclaimed by Joachim Murat; King Joachim's miserable end—The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies—Growth of the Kingdom of Sardinia and the Austrian dominions—The Papal States and the smaller States—Character of the Restoration—Napoleon I.'s prediction—The revolution of Naples of 1820; intervention of Austria and restoration of absolutism—The Piedmontese revolution of 1821; Charles Albert—Triumph of the reaction—Patriot-martyrs.

THE 31st of March, 1814, is a date that will remain for ever memorable in history. On that day the sovereigns allied against France made, at the head of their troops, their famous entry into Paris. The man who had deemed Europe too small a theatre for his acts was to be shut up in the little island of Elba, while the whole colossal edifice that he had raised was falling!

In Italy, of the governments that had arisen during the Napoleonic period, there remained in existence only that of King Joachim Murat, who in view of the fall of Napoleon's fortunes had abandoned him, and had come to an agreement with Austria. But King Joachim, a man of

impressionable and vacillating character, was soon alarmed by the news that reached him of the Congress of Vienna, where the great Powers showed slight disposition to leave him in possession of the Kingdom of Naples. He doubted whether Austria herself would care to keep the promise made to him in the days of struggle. So he became reconciled with his brother-in-law, and when Napoleon accomplished his wonderful return from Elba to Paris, Joachim, who handled political questions in the manner of a brilliant commander of cavalry, decided to face the situation sword in hand and to make certain of retaining his crown. He seems to have understood the change that was being wrought in Italian society; and wishing to utilize the new aspirations of the people, he invited the Italians to a war of independence (March 15, 1815). But the Italians did not respond to his appeal, for even the patriots themselves saw, in the plan of this alien king, nothing but an audacious and aggressive enterprise. A few poets, like Alexander Manzoni, stood alone in praising his action. Joachim Murat invaded the Papal States, and then advanced by way of Romagna as far as the Po, but, having learned that the coasts of his own Kingdom of Naples were threatened by the English, he beat a retreat with the Austrians in close pursuit. Defeated on May 2d and 3d in attempts to stop the Austrians between Tolentino and Macerata, he re-entered the Kingdom of Naples, where the partisans of the Bourbons were

JOACHIM MURAT
From an engraving

already raising their heads again. Desertions from his army now became so numerous that he lost all hope, and on May 22, 1815, he renounced the throne. The Austrians thereupon restored the government of Ferdinand of Bourbon. That Prince was glad enough to leave Sicily for Naples, which he entered on June 9th.

Meantime, Joachim Murat had gone to France. After the disaster of Waterloo he took refuge in Corsica, and from that base he attempted the reconquest of Naples. On September 28th, with two hundred and fifty companions, he set sail from Ajaccio, but a storm dispersed his little fleet. The ship which he was aboard with nineteen companions came to shore at Pizzo in Calabria. After a fruitless attempt to rouse the population in his favour, he tried to make his way towards Monteleone; but some armed partisans of the Bourbons followed him from Pizzo and captured him. A few days later, by order from Naples, he was tried before a military tribunal and condemned to death. Led into a little enclosure of the castle, where the soldiers who had to shoot him were drawn up in file, he refused to be blindfolded, and calmly faced death, saying: "Spare the face, aim at the heart!" (October 13, 1815).

. . . . . .

By the death of Murat the old King Ferdinand assured to himself his lately reacquired throne of Naples. His next thought was to rid himself

of the annoyance which the peculiar political constitution of Sicily caused him. Through all the various dominations that had succeeded one another there, Sicily had preserved her ancient Parliament; in fact in 1812, as the result of an agitation encouraged by England, she had obtained a real constitution, modelled upon English lines, with a House of Lords and a House of Commons. But King Ferdinand, now that he had recovered Naples, no longer wished to assemble the Sicilian Parliament. On the contrary, he meant to abolish the division that had always been maintained in the administration of the two parts of his dominions. On December 18th, therefore, he published a decree by which he ordained that all his dominions on both sides of the Straits of Messina should constitute a single realm with the name of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and consequently he dropped the titles "Ferdinand IV. of Naples" and "Ferdinand III. of Sicily," which he had borne up to that time, in order to assume the title "Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies."[1] This change of name involved the abolition of the Sicilian Parliament and of the other institutions that were peculiar to Sicily.

[1] When, by the revolution known as "the Vespers" (1282), Sicily separated itself from Naples, the Angevin kings of Naples, who formerly possessed it and bore the title "King of Sicily," were unwilling to alter their title and continued to call themselves kings of Sicily, although they possessed the island no longer. On the other hand, Sicily constituted a kingdom by itself. So thenceforth there were two "kingdoms of Sicily."

Here, then, was not simply a return to the past, but a change for the worse for Sicily, which became a mere province of Naples and lay at the mercy of Neapolitan officials. Moreover, every principle of French institutions which was favourable to the royal power was not only maintained at Naples but was applied also to Sicily; the rest was abolished. So the restored monarchy had now at its disposal a power even greater and more absolute than that which it held before the revolution. In order to preserve this power more easily it entered into an alliance with the Papacy, and by the concordat of 1817 gave back to the Church that privileged position which she enjoyed in the kingdom before the reforms of the eighteenth century.

The other kingdom that existed in Italy before the revolution, that is to say, the Kingdom of Sardinia, not only had been restored in May, 1814, in favour of the House of Savoy, but had obtained from the Congress of Vienna a remarkable extension of territory in the shape of the old Republic of Genoa. Its sovereign, whose return to Turin had been warmly acclaimed by his subjects, was Victor Emmanuel I. He was already more than fifty years old, and he had spent his life in an atmosphere very different from the new ideas that were diffused by the French Revolution. So he was unable to appreciate the changes that had come about in his country during his absence—changes which were truly

enormous, since his people, perhaps through the longer duration of French rule, perhaps through nearness and affinity to France, had, much more than the population of Naples, become imbued with modern political principles. The sovereign, however, announced that he proposed to disregard all the changes made in his absence, and imagined that he would be showing great generosity if he gave an amnesty to all who had been concerned in them. The government, then, proposed to return upon the past; and in doing so aroused a lively discontent among the more cultured classes, who, although well disposed to their ancient, glorious and well-intentioned dynasty, deplored this policy, which was rendered still more repugnant by a feeble and pedantic administration.

The Genoese, after they had seen with grief the disappearance of their autonomy, regarded themselves as conquered by Piedmont; so the old rivalries between the two provinces were not merely kept alive after the annexation, but were actually aggravated. Genoa became a centre of opposition to the Piedmontese government.

King Victor Emmanuel I. had four daughters, but no son; inasmuch as the House of Savoy is subject to the Salic Law, which excludes women from the succession, he acknowledged as his heir his brother Charles Felix, who had no children. Thus the extinction of the eldest branch of the House of Savoy was seen to be imminent. There was a collateral branch of the family, the branch

of Savoy-Carignano, represented at that time by a youth of little more than sixteen years, Charles Albert, born on October 2, 1798. When the French occupied Piedmont, his father did not follow the royal family into Sardinia, but stayed at Turin, and afterwards went to Paris, where he died in 1800, scarcely thirty-one years old. Hence Charles Albert was left fatherless when only two years of age. Afterwards, when his mother married a second husband (a French count), he was sent to college at Paris and later at Geneva. As a youth he was therefore untouched by domestic influences and affections. At that time nobody would have believed that this prince would succeed to the throne; for the eldest branch of the family was represented by several brothers, still young. But when, in 1814, the House of Savoy recovered its old dominions and returned to Turin, his position in the family had changed, for there was no longer any hope of a male heir in the eldest line. He therefore found himself suddenly regarded as the heir presumptive to the throne, and recognized as such by the Congress of Vienna. As he was young, and had lived in a French atmosphere, naturally he could not approve the retrograde policy adopted by the government. The Piedmontese Liberals began to base their hopes upon him.

If in Piedmont it was deplored that the government should follow a reactionary policy, much more gloomy was the situation in other parts of

the great basin of the Po which had fallen under foreign dominion. Though before the revolution Austria possessed (in Italy) only Lombardy, she now obtained the Venetian territory also, for the Republic of Venice was not restored. Lombardy-Venetia had been the greatest centre of Italian life during the Napoleonic period; Milan had been the capital of a kingdom which boasted the prophetic title "Kingdom of Italy." This region, when it passed under Austrian sway, preserved the title of "kingdom," but had been forced to exchange the name "Italy" for that of "Lombardy-Venetia." It was governed by a viceroy, resident at Milan—the Archduke of Austria, Rainer, a brother of the Emperor. Side by side with the State officials, there were set up two councils composed of the prominent men of the country—the Lombard Congregation and the Venetian Congregation. In general, the administration was regular and efficient, showing regard for the material progress of the subject provinces; it might indeed have served as a model to some of the other Italian States. But that was no longer enough, for during the existence of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy, the sentiment of nationality had been at length awakened in Italian minds. And the Emperor Francis I., with his narrow mind, his absolutist tendencies, his cold, hard nature, was certainly not the man to mitigate the friction between government and people.

At the Congress of Vienna he had even secured that

MARIE LOUISE, DUCHESS OF PARMA
From the painting by Borghesi
From a photo by Alinari

the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza should be assigned to his daughter, Marie Louise, wife of Napoleon I., for the term of her life.[1] The ex-Empress of France became Duchess of Parma, preserved many of its French institutions and would have liked to govern with clemency, if she had not been overruled by Austria, who in the Congress of Vienna had gained the right to keep a garrison in Piacenza, and was, in fact, the real sovereign—the more so as the Austrian marshal Neipperg, who stood at the side of Marie Louise, soon made her forget her consort exiled in St. Helena and her son detained at Vienna.

The Duchy of Modena, too, had passed under princes of the House of Austria. The last descendant of the Estensi, ancient lords of that territory, had married one of the sons of the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria. Of this union was born the Archduke Francis, who in the Congress of Vienna was recognized as Duke of Modena with the title of Francis IV. He was a man of ability and ambition, and in private life bore himself well, but he was persuaded that his first duty was to save society from Liberal ideas.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand III., was the Emperor's brother. After regaining

[1] The Bourbon dynasty, which had ruled Parma and Piacenza before the revolution, now held, conditionally, the territory of the old Republic of Lucca, transformed into a duchy. When, on Marie Louise's death, it should get Parma back, it was to cede Lucca to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. These events happened in 1847.

possession of his dominions, Ferdinand restored to them those institutions of his father, Peter Leopold I., which in the preceding century had indicated so much progress. Hence the contrast with the new ideas was much less pronounced there than in the other States of the peninsula. So the opposition was much less spirited, and the government showed great mildness.

There had been serious danger that the Papal States would not be restored in their entirety; for Austria, in order to dominate Italy more securely, wished to retain Romagna, which she had occupied during the war; but Cardinal Consalvi, who went to the Congress of Vienna as the representative of Pius VII., cleverly frustrated the Austrian design, and Romagna was restored to the Pope with the rest of his territories. This diplomatic success assured to Consalvi the control of the government during the whole pontificate of Pius VII. He sought to moderate the excesses of the reaction, but was able to do little good in that direction; for the Pope, though he too was animated by good intentions, was weak of character and easily swayed by the reactionary influences among which he lived. The Inquisition was re-established; the Jesuits were recalled and set to work again; the worst features of the pontifical government in preceding centuries were revived without delay. French legislation was swept away, and the old obscure, confused laws were restored. Hatred of French institutions went

even to the length of suppressing vaccination and the lighting of the streets, because those novelties had been introduced from France. The laity were again excluded from office; the whole administration was put once more into the hands of ecclesiastics.

. . . . . .

In general the political map of the Italy of 1815 was somewhat simplified in comparison with that of 1789, but the chief changes were due to the disappearance of the two republics of Genoa and Venice. The Kingdom of Sardinia was increased by the territory of Genoa, and thus was strengthened that dynasty of Savoy which had always upheld the honour of Italian arms. But the extension of the dominions of Austria was much more remarkable; for, adding to Lombardy the wide expanse of the Venetian mainland, she came to possess the richest and strategically the strongest provinces of Italy. Hence she was easily able to make her predominance felt over the whole peninsula, especially as members of the Hapsburg family ruled also at Parma, at Modena, and in Tuscany. Prince Clement von Metternich, then in the full flower of middle life, had been First Minister of Austria for some years. Endowed with the finesse and astuteness that are so much valued in the sphere of diplomacy, he had neither depth of knowledge nor remarkable intelligence. He was never willing to recognize

that human society is a living and continually developing organism. He based his policy on immobility—a system all the more to his taste since it was well adapted to his indolent nature. And under the close vigilance of the Austrian government, the restored sovereigns of Italy followed the same course.

In the course of the reaction against the recent revolution, the clergy were naturally regaining a great ascendency. The so-called alliance of Throne and Altar was formed at that time for joint resistance to the common enemy. The censorship of the Press contributed notably to this end, for it was at once political and religious. In Italy no political newspaper was permitted except the official Gazettes of the several governments, by means of which readers were informed of all the most insignificant events in the most remote countries—in the Indies or in China—but never received the slightest information about nearer and more interesting events.

The better to maintain the political system of the Restoration, the three sovereigns of Austria, Russia and Prussia joined in the Holy Alliance, to which the governments of France and England also adhered for some time. Thus the five great Powers of Europe assumed control of European affairs with a strong determination to maintain the restored régime intact. Yet it lasted for less than one generation!

Napoleon I., who in the inactive life to which

he was condemned at St. Helena meditated on the political conditions of his times, foretold clearly, even then, the future of Italy:

Italy, shut up within her own natural boundaries and separated from the rest of Europe by the sea and by lofty mountains, seems destined to form a great and important nation. . . . Unity of language, customs and literature will lead, in the more or less distant future, to a union of the inhabitants under one single government. . . . Although Rome lacks many qualities that are desirable in the capital of a great country, it is yet beyond doubt that the Italians will some day make Rome the seat of their government and the metropolis of their State.

But in the attainment of that ideal, which appeared as a dream to the minds of the elect, what alternations of hope, and grief, and happiness!

The mass of the nation, especially the peasants, were still too ignorant to feel any enthusiasm about the glorious records of the past, or to understand the great ideas of liberty and independence. They took no interest in politics, and remained in great part unaffected by the national movement. Most of the aristocracy also were either indifferent or hostile, for they saw in the new revolution the certain loss of those few privileges which they had regained at the Restoration, and which they were disinclined to sacrifice to sentimental aspirations. Only the more intelligent and more cultured among them, understanding that a political

transformation was by this time a necessity, decided to give it their support. But the preponderant part in the Italian Revival was taken by the *bourgeoisie*—this new social class which was just developing while fresh aspirations diffused themselves through Italy, and which ended by becoming completely imbued with them.

The first open signs of hostility to the restored régime came from the ranks of the army. During the Napoleonic period—that continuous whirlwind of war—many young men who felt the exuberance of life had ardently adopted the career of arms as one that offered means of rising in the world and of satisfying every ambition. These young officers felt themselves stifled by the general torpor that characterized the life of Europe during the Restoration—

> Questo secol morto, al quale incombe
> Tanta nebbia di tedio,[1]

as Leopardi described it in his poem *To Angelo Mai*, written in the early days of 1820.

Though many people were discontented with the administration, they had no legal means of opposing it or of trying to make the governments change their methods. They could not even express their opinions openly, for that would certainly have led to their arrest. The one course that offered any hope of change was the forming

[1] This dead era, over which broods an immense fog of ennui.

of secret societies which might become strong enough to impose their wishes on the governments.

Of these secret societies the most powerful was that of the Carbonari.[1] To this day its origins are involved in obscurity. Perhaps it was an offshoot of the Freemasons. Under the rule of Joachim Murat, it was firmly rooted in the Kingdom of Naples; after the return of the Bourbons it spread still more widely, especially among the ranks of the army.

The early triumph of the Spanish revolution of 1820 made a deep impression in Naples, a region linked to Spain by so many memories and affinities. The leaders of the Carbonari now decided to act. On July 2, 1820, in the little town of Nola at the foot of Vesuvius, two sub-lieutenants (Morelli and Silvati) set on foot the insurrection. Their demand was that the King should grant a constitution. Followed by little more than a hundred soldiers, they went out from Nola and advanced on Avellino. The governor, Colonel de Conciliis, was himself a Carbonaro. After some hesitation he joined them, with the little garrison that he commanded, and moved towards the capital. Meanwhile in several provinces the Liberals were raising their heads and showing themselves favourable to the insurrection. On the night of July 5th, General Guglielmo Pepe, fearing arrest because he was widely known as a Liberal, left Naples and put himself at the head of the insurg-

[1] Literally "The Charcoal Burners."

ents. At once the insurrection assumed such proportions in the capital itself that King Ferdinand, fearing the loss of his throne, granted the constitution (July 6th). Never was victory more easily and swiftly gained.

But the erection of a constitutional government in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies alarmed the Powers of the Holy Alliance, and especially Austria, who saw the tranquillity of her Italian dominions threatened. In order to get authority for armed intervention, Austria called together a Congress at Laybach, the capital of Carniola, and invited to it also King Ferdinand I., whom she knew to be desirous of restoring absolutism. At Laybach, in January, 1821, the fate of Naples was decided. The Holy Alliance, declaring that it had the right and the duty of preserving peace in Europe, and that the condition of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies threatened the security of all governments, directed an Austrian army to enter Neapolitan territory and restore order. On his part, Ferdinand I. wrote to Naples inviting his subjects to welcome amicably the troops of his faithful ally, the Emperor Francis I. of Austria.

The Neapolitan Parliament, which no longer trusted the King, thought fit to declare that no credence should be attached to his words, since he was not free amongst the sovereigns of the North; and it resolved to defend the Kingdom against the Austrian invasion. But nothing was ready. The ministry was largely made up of

weak and unreliable men. The delusive views of men who were unconscious of the gravity of the situation prevailed in Parliament and in the newspaper press. The army was disorganized; its leaders were out of harmony, its soldiers lacked discipline. General Guglielmo Pepe, at the head of ten thousand men, faced the Austrians at Rieti on March 7, 1821. He was defeated, and the greater part of his troops dispersed, carrying discouragement into all the provinces. Many Liberals fled or hid themselves. The Austrian troops advanced on Naples without meeting further opposition; on March 23, 1821, they entered the capital and restored the absolute monarchy. In Sicily, too, all opposition was stifled.

. . . . . .

The sovereigns and ministers assembled at Laybach remained there for some months, awaiting the issue of the Austrian expedition to Naples. They were on the point of dissolving the Congress when news came of another revolution at the other extremity of Italy—in Piedmont. The Piedmontese movement not only aimed (like the Neapolitan insurrection) at obtaining a constitution, but had from the first a distinctly national purpose. For the Piedmontese Carbonari proposed to remove King Victor Emmanuel I. from the influence of the reactionary courtiers by whom he was surrounded; to induce him to grant a constitution; and then to incite him to

war against Austria. They counted on the support of the young Prince, Charles Albert of Savoy-Carignano, heir-presumptive to the throne, who had several times shown disapproval of the government's retrograde policy. The young officers round him, though belonging to the aristocracy, had themselves absorbed the new ideas, and they aroused in him an ambition to play an important part in Italy's redemption. Weak of character, Charles Albert allowed himself to be easily impressed by their eloquence and enthusiasm, and perhaps to be drawn further than he had intended. He even was said to have enrolled himself among the Carbonari; certainly he was on intimate terms with some of the revolutionist leaders, such as the Marquis Asinari di San Marzano, colonel of horse; the Count Provana di Collegno, major of artillery, and the Count Santorre di Santarosa, major of engineers.

The Piedmontese conspirators had decided to rise at the moment when the Austrian army should be engaged in the struggle with the Neapolitans. This movement in the rear of the Austrians must, they thought, assure the triumph of the Liberal and national cause. On March 10, 1821, before news of the Neapolitan defeat at Rieti had reached Piedmont, the garrison of Alessandria, instigated by officers who were members of the Carbonari, rose with a demand for a constitution and for war against Austria. Their standard was the white, red and green that had been raised by the

Cisalpine Republic in 1797. It had afterwards been adopted by the Kingdom of Italy which that republic became, and it fell with the kingdom in 1814. So it was now regarded as a symbol of revolution. While a provisional government was being organized in Alessandria, the garrison of Turin began to show signs of revolt. Two days later, although news of the Neapolitan disaster was coming in, it followed the example of the garrison of Alessandria, and even threatened to bombard the city unless the King granted a constitution.

King Victor Emmanuel I. had promised the Holy Alliance that he would not alter the political system of Piedmont. On the other hand, his humane disposition made him unwilling to shed the blood of his subjects in a fratricidal struggle. That same evening (March 12th) he abdicated in favour of his brother Charles Felix, and as his brother was then at Modena he nominated Charles Albert to a provisional regency of the kingdom. Incited by his friends and carried away by the progress of the revolution, the young prince, after learning the views of ministers, generals, and municipal leaders, proclaimed the Spanish constitution. This was on the evening of March 13th, and the announcement was accompanied by a manifesto which contained the following declaration:

In this extremely difficult conjuncture, we have been obliged to disregard the ordinary limitations of

a Regent's power. Our respect for, and our submission to, His Majesty, Charles Felix, to whom the throne belongs, would have counselled us to abstain from making any change in the fundamental laws of the kingdom, or would have induced us to delay until we knew the intentions of the new sovereign. But the stress of circumstances is manifest, and it behoves us to take every precaution that the new king shall find his people safe, uninjured, and happy—not already torn by factions and by civil war. Therefore, after mature deliberation and after taking the opinion of our Council, we have decided (in confidence that His Majesty the King, moved by the same considerations, will approve this decision) that the constitution of Spain be promulgated and observed as the law of the State, save for such modifications as may be decided upon by the National Assembly together with His Majesty the King.

But Charles Felix was a prince of despotic tendencies. He disapproved of Charles Albert's action and sent from Modena a decree by which he declared null all decisions that had been taken without his assent. Later, he ordered Charles Albert to leave Turin. The Liberals who surrounded Charles Albert wished to draw him into open revolt against King Charles Felix, but he regarded that course as infamous disloyalty to the eldest branch of his family. Then, too, more definite news was coming in about the easy advance of the Austrian troops through Naples; so there was no longer any hope of preserving the Pied-

montese constitution. Charles Albert saw that if he opposed the King he would wreck his own future without saving the revolution. He decided to withdraw from it. Yet so weak was his character that he lacked the courage to announce, even to his own ministers, the decision that he had taken in this gloomy situation. During the night of March 21st he left Turin, almost in secret.

The unforeseen departure of the regent spread discouragement and disorder among the partisans of the revolution, many of whom withdrew their support. The absolutist party, now assured of the King's favour, raised their heads once more; and General de la Tour hoisted anew at Novara the blue standard of Savoy and invited the troops that remained faithful to Charles Felix to gather around it. In those difficult moments the control of the constitutional government was assumed by Count Santorre di Santarosa, whom Charles Albert had nominated Minister of War. But notwithstanding his fervent proclamations the constitutionalists managed to keep together only four thousand soldiers, who were easily routed on April 8, 1821, under the walls of Novara, by the army that La Tour had assembled and a body of Austrian troops that had crossed the Ticino. The constitutionalists dispersed, and the more compromised among them went into exile.

When the Piedmontese revolution also had been thus disposed of, the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance who had remained at Laybach were able to

dissolve the Congress. On May 12, 1821, they addressed to their ambassadors at the various Courts of Europe an expression of gratification upon the completion of the work. They were returning home with the more peace of mind since Napoleon I. had just died at St. Helena. With his death disappeared the last remnant of their anxieties about that great son of the Revolution.

. . . . . .

The fiercest of reactions now raged—not merely in Naples and Piedmont, where the movements of 1820–21 had occurred, but all over Italy. For although there had been no outward signs of rebellion in the other provinces, conspiracies had been organized there. More especially in Lombardy-Venetia, many had hoped that the Piedmontese would cross the Ticino, and the great poet Alexander Manzoni kept in readiness for the desired moment that hymn of war in which he prophesied that the waters of Ticino should no longer flow between "foreign banks," nor place be found for barriers "'twixt Italy and Italy."[1]

The Austrian government, ably served by its police, had begun to make arrests in October, 1820, after the Neapolitan movements. In December, 1821, it unearthed the connection which

[1] . . . Non fia che quest' onda
Scorra più fra due rive straniere,
Non fia loco ove sorgan barriere
Tra l'Italia e l'Italia mai più.

existed between the Liberals of Lombardy and the Piedmontese revolution, and new trials followed. Among the arrested was one of the most eminent of the citizens of Milan, Count Frederick Confalonieri, who was regarded as the leader of the conspiracy. Only after two years of investigation was their fate decided. Confalonieri, Borsieri, Pallavicino and several others were condemned to death, but with "great clemency" the Emperor, by decrees of December 19, 1823, and January 8, 1824, commuted that penalty to one of close imprisonment in the fortress of the Spielberg, in Moravia. There Pellico (who afterwards wrote those well-known reminiscences of his imprisonments called *Le mie Prigioni*) was already languishing, with Maroncelli and other illustrious patriots.[1]

The other sovereigns of Italy naturally sought to win the favour of Austria, and they set about persecuting the Liberals with ruthless zeal. How long was the roll of heroes glorified by the halo of martyrdom! How great the influence of their sublime devotion to a noble ideal! And what sympathy for the Italian cause the fugitives awakened abroad! England in particular was a safe asylum for them. Among those who took refuge on her shores were the Neapolitan poet, Gabriele Rossetti, head of a family that became famous in English letters and art, and Anthony

[1] Pellico and Maroncelli were released in 1830; Confalonieri, Pallavicino and Borsieri in 1836 by the new Emperor, Ferdinand I.

Panizzi, of Modena, who quickly acquired great reputation as a scholar, and afterwards became Principal Librarian of the British Museum. The ruler of the little Duchy of Modena, Francis IV., distinguished himself among his fellow-sovereigns by singular ferocity. His object was to gain the sympathy of the Holy Alliance, whose support he desired in his claim (as husband of Victor Emmanuel I.'s eldest daughter) to the succession to the throne of Savoy. He flattered himself that by playing upon the aversion which Charles Felix, after the events of 1821, felt for Charles Albert, he could bring about the abolition of the Salic Law in Piedmont, and exclude Charles Albert from the succession. But the Austrian government itself understood that France would not be pleased to see an archduke of Austria on her borders. So it refrained from supporting Francis IV.'s ambitious designs, and they came to nothing.

Charles Albert, however, in order to purchase a reconciliation with Charles Felix, had to give solemn proof of devotion to the Holy Alliance. He was obliged to enrol himself in the French army that was sent into Spain to overthrow the very constitution which he had promulgated in Piedmont in 1821; and on his return from the expedition, which to him was a severe chastisement, he had to promise that when he came to the throne he would make no change in the political institutions of his country. On the other

hand, he felt that he had become an object of hatred to the Liberals, who all accused him of betraying them. He knew that the charge was unjust, but, having grown suspicious of all men, he now opened his mind to none. And so the handsome, merry, vivacious youth of a few years ago became the pale, solemn, taciturn man, sunk always in profound melancholy.

III

TEN YEARS LATER: APPEARANCE OF MAZZINI AND CAVOUR

Su, figli d'Italia! su in armi, coraggio!
Il suolo qui è nostro; del nostro retaggio
Il turpe mercato finisce pei re.
Un popol diviso per sette destini
In sette spezzato da sette confini,
Si fonde in un solo, più servo non è.
Su, Italia, su in armi! Venuto è il tuo dì!
Dei re congiurati la tresca finì.
Dall' Alpi allo Stretto fratelli siam tutti!
Sui limiti schiusi, sui troni distrutti
Piantiamo i comuni tre nostri color:
Il *verde*, la speme tanti anni pasciuta,
Il *rosso*, la gioia d'averla compiuta,
Il *bianco*, la fede fraterna d'amor.

G. BERCHET: *Per la rivoluzione del 1831.*[1]

[1] Up, sons of Italy! To arms! Be brave! The soil is ours; the shameful traffic of our inheritance by Kings is ending. A people separated by seven destinies, by seven boundaries broken into seven, fuses itself into one. It is a slave no more. Up, Italy; to arms! Thy day is come! End the intrigue of conspiring Kings! From the Alps to Sicily we are all brothers. Over boundaries demolished, over thrones destroyed, let us plant the tricolour, the flag of us all; the *green*, which tells of hope long nourished; the *red*, the joy of fulfilment; the *white*, the fraternal confidence of love.—*For the Revolution of* 1831

CHAPTER III

TEN YEARS LATER: APPEARANCE OF MAZZINI AND CAVOUR

The new generation—Rebound of the French Revolution of 1830—Cyrus Menotti and the revolution of 1831—Mazzini's youth; his imprisonment—Cavour sub-lieutenant of engineers; his Liberal ideas.

THE movements of 1820–21 had been brought about by the military element that still belonged to the Napoleonic period. This revolutionary personnel now disappeared in great part, for even those who managed to avoid imprisonment and torture had to go into exile. Many of them went to aid the cause of the Spanish constitutionalists or of Greek independence—as for example Santorre di Santarosa, who fell heroically fighting in Greece in 1825. On the other hand the governments, which in the first period of the Restoration had been retrograde but not ferocious, now became daily more hateful for their cruelty, and for this reason only men devoted to absolutism accepted commissions in the armies. So there was an end of military pronouncements.

But though official conspirators and rebels began to fail, a fresh and much more numerous

revolutionary personnel came to the front with the new generation that began to appear on the stage of history. This was the generation born in the Napoleonic period. After passing its youth in the midst of a feverish life of constant change, it was confronted by the repose, the inertia, of the Restoration period. The more ardent spirits, who had readily absorbed the ideas of the revolution, felt that all their liveliest aspirations were fundamentally opposed to the existing régime; yet, being still very young, they were profoundly impressed, perhaps by the revolutions of 1820–21, perhaps by the accounts of the martyrdom which so many Italians suffered for liberty and for country. They came to feel a burning desire for universal renovation—not in politics only, but also in literature, philosophy, art. And in the enthusiasm of their young minds they entered upon life with a determination to take part in the struggle. It may be said that this generation came on the scene when the Parisian revolution of 1830 broke out. The young Italians of more ardent temperament hoped for great and speedy changes in the peninsula.

But the only revolutionary organization that had any solidity was that which gathered around a young merchant of Modena, Cyrus Menotti, born in 1798, who by reason of his generous heart and ready intellect enjoyed great influence among the Liberals of Emilia. He had allowed himself to be led, by his friend Misley, into secret rela-

tions with Duke Francis IV., who, after losing all hope of succession to the throne of Savoy, had shared in these Liberal plots with a view to the crown of the new kingdom that should be set up in Italy. Cyrus Menotti, though realizing the baseness of the Duke's character, trusted in his extraordinary thirst for power; but Francis IV. betrayed his accomplice when he saw that Austria had information of the plots. On the night of February 3, 1831, fifty-seven conspirators met in the house of Cyrus Menotti at Modena, to prepare cartridges and tricoloured standards in expectation of bands of insurgents who were to come in from the neighbouring districts. Duke Francis IV., who knew what was going on, strengthened the guards at the city gates and sent a regiment of his troops to surround Menotti's house. The conspirators offered a sturdy defence for several hours, but were captured after nearly all of them had been wounded.

While the revolution seemed to be thus suppressed in Modena, it was breaking out in the neighbouring territory of Bologna, a city of the Papal States. The cardinal who governed Bologna was then at Rome—for the conclave which, on February 2, 1831, elected as the new Pope Fra Mauro Cappellari (Gregory XVI.). This news had not reached Bologna on the morning of the 4th, when tidings came from Modena of the events of the previous night. The city rose. The prelate whom the cardinal-legate had

left in charge was panic-stricken. He nominated a committee to administer the city and forthwith took his departure. The committee assumed the title of Provisional Government of the City and Province of Bologna, and declared that the bond which held the Bolognese in subjection to the Pope was for ever broken. This bloodless, peaceful, orderly revolution quickly spread through all Romagna, then to the Marches and a part of Umbria. Everywhere the representatives of Papal power resigned their powers into the hands of the more considerable citizens and went away. The Papal militia either followed them or fraternized with the people.

The news of these events at Bologna threw Modena and all the lands of the Duchy into a state of agitation. On the evening of February 5th Francis IV., thoroughly frightened, fled to the Austrian fortress of Mantua with seven hundred men and his prisoner Cyrus Menotti, who might have been a dangerous witness against him. His flight facilitated the triumph of the revolution. Next day armed bands from the country entered Modena and released the political prisoners. A provisional government was set up. The revolution spread also to the neighbouring Duchy of Parma, and on February 14th the Duchess Marie Louise fled to Piacenza, where an Austrian garrison was quartered. At Parma, as elsewhere, a provisional government was nominated. Meantime at Bologna an assembly of

deputies from the territories that had thrown off Papal rule proclaimed a Federation of the United Italian Provinces, and adopted as their ensign the tricoloured Italian banner.

The Pope, the Duke of Modena, and the Duchess of Parma had of course protested against the acts of the provisional governments established in their States, and had requested the help of Austrian troops. The Italians trusted in the principle of non-intervention proclaimed by the new monarchy of France, but events soon showed that Louis Philippe was not over-zealous in the defence of such a principle against the wishes of Austria. It was not long before Austrian troops restored Marie Louise in Parma and Francis IV. in Modena; then, entering the Papal States, they defeated, near Rimini on the 25th of March, the little army that the rebels had organized, and swiftly re-established the government of the Pope.

Among the restored rulers, the Duchess Marie Louise distinguished herself by clemency. She allowed the leaders of the rebels to flee, and published a general amnesty. Not so Francis IV. He showed extreme cruelty and sent several of his subjects to the gallows—among them Cyrus Menotti. The Pope ordered certain trials, which ended in mild sentences because they were not concerned with the leaders of the movement. The leaders themselves had set sail from Ancona, but the Austrian fleet, commanded by Admiral Bandiera, had captured their ship, and the patriots

had been thrown into Venetian prisons. Diplomatic intervention by France and England alone saved them from being handed over to the governments of Francis IV. and Gregory XVI. After several months of imprisonment they were sent into exile, and some of them, like Terence Mamiani (born in 1799), helped by their writings to increase the sympathy of the more civilized nations for Italy's cause.

Thus, after a brief spell of sunshine that gave hope of brighter days, the sky frowned again over all the peninsula. It was amid this gloom that Joseph Mazzini set forth upon his apostolate.

. . . . . .

Mazzini was born in that very month of June, 1805, in which the Doge of his native Genoa presented himself before Napoleon I. to beg him, in the name of the Senate, "to consent to give the Genoese the felicity that comes from being your subjects." His father, a distinguished physician, had him educated at home—perhaps on account of his grief at the annexation of Genoa to the dominions of the House of Savoy, after Napoleon's fall, and his decided antipathy for the Piedmontese government. In fact all Genoa, in its sorrow for the old republic, was pervaded by a lively sentiment of opposition to the House of Savoy. Mazzini thus passed his youth amid anti-monarchical influences. In 1821 he was deeply impressed by seeing, in the streets of Genoa, the fugitive revolu-

MAZZINI AS A YOUNG MAN
From a contemporary print

tionists of Piedmont who had taken refuge there in hope of finding ship. That day, as he himself tells us, the thought first presented itself, although confusedly, to his mind, that it was possible, and therefore his bounden duty, to struggle for his country's freedom. He roused his classmates at the University to ever greater enthusiasm for these ideals; and, although of too retiring a disposition to make friendships readily, he gathered around himself, by the superiority of his intellect and the nobility of his character, a little band of devoted comrades. Giovanni Ruffini, who from that time was bound to him by the ties of warm affection, thus describes him to us:[1]

He had a finely-shaped head, the forehead spacious and prominent, and eyes black as jet, at times darting lightning. His complexion was a pale olive, and his features, remarkably striking altogether, were set, so to speak, in a profusion of flowing black hair, which he wore rather long. The expression of his countenance, grave and almost severe, was softened by a smile of great sweetness, mingled with a certain shrewdness, betraying a rich comic vein. He spoke well and fluently, and when he warmed upon a subject, there was a fascinating power in his eyes, his gestures, his voice, his whole bearing, that was quite irresistible. His life was one of retirement and study; the amusements common with young men of his age had no attraction for him. His library, his cigar, his

[1] Under the name of Fantasio in the novel *Lorenzo Benoni* which Ruffini wrote originally in English.

coffee; some occasional walks, rarely in the day time, and always in solitary places, more frequently in the evening and by moonlight,—such were his only pleasures. . . . He was well versed in history, and in the literature, not only of his own but of foreign countries. Shakespeare, Byron, Goethe, Schiller, were as familiar to him as Dante and Alfieri. Spare and thin in body, he had an indefatigably active mind; he wrote much and well both in prose and verse, and there was hardly a subject he had not attempted,—historical essays, literary criticisms, tragedies, etc., etc. A passionate lover of liberty under every shape, there breathed in his fiery soul an indomitable spirit of revolt against tyranny and oppression of every sort.

To love for his country he made his first great sacrifice when he renounced the career of letters in order to devote himself to political activity. Fantasies of art, visions of drama and romance, floated seductively before his mind. But he thought it better to consecrate his life to the problem: "Shall we possess our native land?" It is easy to understand that such a youth, dressed always in black as though in mourning for his country, must soon fall under the suspicion of the police. When the Parisian revolution of 1830 excited the minds of the Liberals, and on the other hand stirred the police to renewed zeal, Mazzini, who had enrolled himself among the Carbonari and had been denounced by an informer, was speedily arrested (November 11, 1830).

In prison he meditated long upon the political

1867 L'an mil-huit-cent-dix, le Treizième jour du mois de Août à Quatre heures du soir pardevant nous, Maire-adjoint de la ville de Turin, ~~délégué par le MAIRE, approuvé par le PREFET pour remplir les fonctions d'~~Officier public de l'Etat-civil, est comparu Monsieur Michel Antoine

Bens de Cavour Bens de Cavour Baron de l'Empire Chambelan de Son Altesse Imperiale le Prince Camille ~~membre de la legion d'honneur~~ âgé de Vingt huit ans domicilié à Turin rue de Jena numero treize maison propre: lequel nous a présenté un enfant Mâle né le dix de ce mois à Cinq heures et trois quarts du soir de lui déclarant et de Madame Adelaïde Susanne Sellon d'allemain âgée de Vingt six ans son Epouse Domiciliée avec lui. Au quel il a déclaré donner les prénoms de Camille Paul Philippe Jules, Messieurs Barthelemy Bens de Cavour Gouverneur du Palais Imperiale de Turin Membre de la Legion d'honneur âgé de Cinquante huit ans et Louis Douhet-Lauzers Directeur de la Police des departemens au delà des Alpes âgé de quarante ans Domiciliés à Turin ont été présens à cet acte; et après lecture ont tous signé avec nous; approuvant la rature

Michel antoine Bens de cavour — J. A. Dedouhet Dauzers — Le Maire-adjoint délégué, — Membre de la Legion d'honneur — J. Negro

Bens de Cavour

1868 L'an mil-huit-cent-dix, le Treizième jour du mois de Août à quatre heures du soir pardevant nous, Maire-adjoint de la ville de Turin, délégué par le MAIRE, approuvé par le PREFET pour remplir les fonction d'Officier public de l'Etat-civil, est comparu Le Sieur Jean Molina Agé de Soixante Cinq Ans Directeur de la Police de Maternité de cette Ville et

Turcol

FACSIMILE OF CAVOUR'S BIRTH CERTIFICATE

situation. He was convinced that Carbonarism was incapable of directing the Italian movement, for it had now lost all vitality. Instead of spending time and effort in galvanizing it into life, it was better to create a new and different organization. Thus he conceived the design of *Young Italy*—pondering over the principles on which this new secret society should be based, deciding who should be chosen to inaugurate it, and what was the bond that could unite them in a work that was common to the revolutionist elements of all Europe.

. . . . . .

At Genoa, in those very days of 1830 in which Joseph Mazzini was arrested, a young officer of engineers, son of a Piedmontese nobleman of reactionary views, found himself subject to the surveillance of the police. This was Camillo Benso di Cavour, second son of the Marquis Michael Benso di Cavour. He was now twenty years old.[1] Like all the younger sons of noble families, he had been intended for a military career, and when only ten years of age he had been sent to the Academy of Turin. Soon afterwards the revolution of 1821 had broken out. It had made a strong impression upon the young Cavour, with his bold temperament and precocious mind—

[1] He was born at Turin on August 10, 1810, and had for godfather Prince Camillo Borghese, then governor of Piedmont for Napoleon I.

the more so because he was a distant relative of the foremost hero of that movement, Santorre di Santarosa. In secret he had ever since cultivated vague Liberal aspirations, and they were fostered afterwards by his close intimacy with Severino Cassio, a school-companion of republican tendencies. He had spent several holidays with the relatives of his mother (Adelaide Sellon d'Allaman) at Geneva. There, under the influence of a government and of a religion different from those of Piedmont, his mental horizon was widened and his Liberal convictions were strengthened to such a degree that in a letter to his elder brother, dated November 30, 1828, he wrote:

> Certainly all personal considerations—the probable political and material advantages—invited me to fight under the banner of absolutism. But an innate sentiment of self-respect, which I have always preserved with care, has repelled me from a course in which the first essential was that I should deny my own convictions and no longer see or believe except with the eyes and understanding of other men.

For this reason he felt somewhat uncomfortable in his family—especially as his father not only held reactionary views, but was a man whose temperament disposed him to the use of authority. As sub-lieutenant of engineers Camillo Cavour had been assigned to fortification works at Ventimiglia, at Exilles (near Susa), and at Lesseillon (near Modane), but he had also spent a good deal

CAMILLO CAVOUR AS A YOUNG MAN

of time at Turin, at the headquarters of the corps of engineers. Outside his official duties he had devoted himself to the study of political science, for which he had presently conceived a passion, and he was thoroughly persuaded that a change was imminent in Italy. With such ideas in mind he had felt that the atmosphere of his family and of his native Turin, too, with its tame obsequiousness to King Charles Felix, was becoming unbearable. Consequently in March, 1830, he received with delight the news that he had been appointed to the engineer staff at Genoa—and the more so because his bosom friend Cassio was simultaneously gazetted for service in the same city. He seemed to have gained freedom from all the vexations that he had hitherto suffered, and to be launched on life at last.

It may easily be imagined how the young officer was affected by his surroundings at Genoa. The opposition to the government which he encountered everywhere convinced him more and more that the old political institutions were doomed, and when, in July of that year, the Parisian revolution drove from the throne of France the eldest branch of the Bourbons, he was unable to contain his enthusiasm. He hoped that those events would quickly find a parallel in Italy, and yielding himself up to the most ambitious of dreams he believed (in the words of one of his letters at that time) that some fine morning he would awake to find himself First Minister of the Kingdom of Italy.

In part his mental exaltation at this period may be explained by his love for that lady whom Domenico Berti, in publishing Cavour's *Diario inedito*, preferred to leave unnamed, but whom many know to have been the Marchesa Anna Schiaffino-Giustiniani, wife of the President of the Board of Health at Genoa. This was Cavour's one real and deep love affair. On her part, that high-minded and cultivated lady was fascinated by his personality. She saw in Cavour a man predestined to a glorious future, and she felt for him a passion so violent that it caused her great sufferings and consumed her vital energies in less than ten years.[1] The political sympathies of the Marquise Giustiniani were republican. They softened somewhat under the influence of Cavour, but in turn they served to strengthen his Liberal sentiments.

The devotion of this lady and the news from France excited the young officer to such a pitch that he committed certain imprudences of speech and awakened the suspicions of the police. He himself realized it, and in a letter of October 23, 1830, he speaks jokingly of it to his uncle, Di Sellon:

> The elastic force of gases increases in direct ratio to the pressure which they support. But our government, which probably knows nothing of physics, has taken especially severe precautions for Genoa. The city is full of spies. There are actually lists of

[1] She died in 1841, at the early age of thirty-four.

suspects, and (I know not by what fatal coincidence) nearly all the members of the honourable Corps of Engineers have been entered on these lists. Hence it has come about that for a month all our words, and, I believe, all our thoughts, have been the subject of reports. You well understand that it would have been imprudent on my part to run the risk of furnishing incriminating evidence to those who watched me. So I have refrained from writing to you—in spite of my desire to do so.

Thus Mazzini and Cavour, bred in surroundings so different, but endowed alike with high abilities and generous natures, began in 1830 to be regarded by the police in the light of dangerous subjects. Yet their dreams were of a new Italy, honoured and powerful, a fatherland that should lead its sons on a glorious march towards greatness and prosperity.

It was a misfortune that these two young men, at Genoa that year, should have had no opportunity of forming an acquaintance. For then, with the ready expansiveness of youthful minds, they would have come to a just appreciation of each other. Those whom all must regard as the two greatest builders of that wonderful edifice, the Italian *Risorgimento*, never met then or at any later time. How many mutual prepossessions would have been dissipated, how many false judgments avoided, by personal contact and the frank exchange of ideas!

True, their temperaments were dissimilar, and

they would in any case have gone different ways. In the one, idealism and fancy predominated; in the other, regard for facts and arguments. Cavour admitted that he had no imagination, and was incapable of inventing the simplest story to please a child. And the natural tendency of his mind had been strengthened by the mathematical studies that he pursued so sedulously at the Military Academy. It was an effect of this mental quality that, although firmly determined to oppose the retrograde policy of the government, he had no welcome for proposals of conspiracy. For, after calculating the strength of the forces on the other side, he judged it impossible that conspiracies should succeed. Later in life he became a fierce opponent of Mazzini through failure to recognize the great merits of the prophet of the new Italy. Yet it was precisely Mazzini's idealism which raised up those souls, full of calm, heroic faith, that were afterwards the most effective fellow-workers with Cavour in the national revival; it was that idealism which created the conditions necessary for the fulfilment of Cavour's positive policy.

But for the present the one, in the silence of his prison at Savona, meditated upon the organization of *Young Italy;* the other, indignant that he was under surveillance, and longing for a life of independence, began to think of leaving the career of arms.

IV

THE APOSTOLATE OF MAZZINI, AND CAVOUR'S PREPARATION FOR POLITICS

Qual da gli aridi scogli erma su 'l mare
Genova sta, marmoreo gigante,
Tal, surto in bassi dì, su 'l fluttuante
Secolo, ei grande, austero, immoto appare.

Da quegli scogli, onde Colombo infante
Nuovi pe 'l mar vedea monti spuntare,
Egli vide nel ciel crepuscolare
Co 'l cuor di Gracco ed il pensier di Dante.

La terza Italia; e con le luci fise
A lei trasse per mezzo un cimitero,
E un popol morto dietro a lui si mise.

Esule antico, al ciel mite e severo
Leva ora il volto che giammai non rise,
—Tu sol—pensando—o idëal, sei vero.

GIOSUÈ CARDUCCI (1836–1907): *Giuseppe Mazzini.*[1]

[1] As from the barren rocks—standing alone above the sea—Genoa rises like a marble giant, so he, raised up in lowly days, above the fluctuating age, seems great, austere, immovable. From those rocks whence the young Columbus descried new mountain peaks beyond the ocean, he whose was the heart of Gracchus, the mind of Dante, saw in the twilight sky the third Italy; with his gaze fixed on her he passed as through a cemetery, and as he passed a dead race rose and followed him. Venerable exile, to a heaven both merciful and stern raise now that face which never smiled, and say in your heart that the ideal alone is true.

CHAPTER IV

THE APOSTOLATE OF MAZZINI, AND CAVOUR'S PREPARATION FOR POLITICS

Mazzini in exile; unionist propaganda—*Young Italy* and the expedition into Savoy, 1834—Cavour renounces the military career—His political convictions—His travels—Cavour a man of affairs.

MAZZINI and Cavour differ from most of the great figures of history in the sense that their lives disclose one dominant motive, which is always fixed. And it was in the same year, 1831, that each took the fateful resolution which decided his future.

In February of that year Mazzini, for lack of evidence against him, was set at liberty. But as the government felt convinced that he was a dangerous person, they offered him the alternatives of relegation to a small town in Piedmont or exile from the kingdom. Mazzini saw that in a small Piedmontese town, under the constant surveillance of the police, he would be unable to carry out the design that he had conceived. He chose exile and went to Marseilles, where he forthwith began that political apostolate which he pursued, with indomitable perseverance, for the rest of his life.

Just at that time (April 27, 1831) Charles Felix died and Charles Albert succeeded to the throne. Some of the Liberals, who had not yet lost confidence in the young prince, greeted his accession with sanguine expectation. Mazzini therefore thought it well, before inaugurating his new association, to publish a letter to Charles Albert, inviting him to assume the leadership of the national movement. This letter, signed "An Italian" and written with patriotic fervour, was widely circulated among the Italian nationalists. In it Mazzini put clearly before Charles Albert the alternatives of continuing the sorry policy of his predecessors on the throne, or of placing himself at the head of the nation and freeing Italy from the foreigner. He sought to reawaken in the King's mind the enthusiasm of 1821:

Sire, in those days you fostered this very idea. It presented itself to you radiant with high hopes and glory, and your blood warmed in your veins. By night you dreamed of it. And for it you made yourself a conspirator. . . . The times were against you then; but why should ten years and a precarious crown have destroyed the ambition of your youth, the dream of your sleeping hours? . . . Sire, the enterprise may be hazardous for men who reckon numerical forces only, for men who know no other means of reform than embassies, negotiations. The way of triumph is certain if you can realize your whole position, convince yourself unshakably that you are consecrated to a lofty mission, and enter upon it

with bold and resolute determination. Judgment, Sire, is a power that balances all others. Great things are not achieved by protocols, but by reading aright the signs of the times. The secret of power is in the will. Choose a course that accords with the nation's thought. Keep to it unfalteringly. Be firm and seize your opportunity. Victory is within your grasp.

Mazzini ended this, the first of his political writings, with the warning: "If you do not act, others will—without you and against you."

Charles Albert seems to have welcomed the first of the alternatives that Mazzini put to him. So far from changing the policy of the government, he left in office his predecessor's ministers, who, in face of the agitation that was then perceptible throughout Europe, thought it expedient to employ double severity against the Liberals. Mazzini therefore founded his association, *Young Italy*, and asserted that the unity of Italy could never be restored, save by democratic government and the devotion of her people. Hence his propaganda took on a republican character. Admitting the principle of national sovereignty, he was bound to declare that the free nation would be able to pass final judgment on the fundamental laws of its constitution.

But the essential characteristic of Mazzini's apostolate consists in his unionist sentiment. In his very first directions to the members of *Young Italy*, in 1831, he announced:

Young Italy is unionist, for without unity there is no strength, and Italy, surrounded by powerful and jealous unitary nations, needs above everything else to be strong. . . . The cumulative effect of European changes is to lead European peoples inevitably to form themselves into vast unitary masses. And, as he sees who knows how to study it, the whole internal impulse of Italian civilization has tended through the ages to the realization of unity.

He proposed therefore to familiarize the Italian people with the ideal of Italy "free, united, independent and republican," and in 1832 he began to publish a periodical, named, like the association, *Young Italy*. It was, of course, prohibited and persecuted by the police of the various States of the peninsula, but it made its way everywhere, for, in order to read and circulate it, many people risked imprisonment and even death. Mazzini, in fact, with his ardent faith, his high moral idealisms, and his stimulating style, turned love of country into a religion.

We are not conspirators merely, but believers. We aspire to be not only revolutionists, but, so far as in us lies, regenerators. Before everything else our problem is one of national education. Arms and insurrection are only means, without which, thanks to our conditions, it is impossible to attain our end. We invoke the bayonet only because it carries an idea on its point. Little would it concern us to destroy, unless we had hope of founding something better; little to note down duties and rights on a sheet of paper,

unless we confidently purposed to imprint them on the lives of men. This our fathers neglected; this we must keep ever in mind. It is not enough to incite the different states of Italy to rise; the question is one of creating the nation. We fervently believe that Italy has not exhausted her own vitality in the world. She is still summoned to bring new elements into the progressive development of Humanity—to live a third life, which it must be our aim to inaugurate.

In fine, he proposed not only the political revival of Italy, but also her moral and social redemption. Through the personal associations which he had in Liguria and Piedmont he was soon able to organize committees there. At Genoa the family most attached to him was that of the Ruffini—especially the young physician Jacopo, brother of the Giovanni already mentioned. Of this devoted follower Mazzini wrote the tenderest of eulogies:

He was the gentlest youth, the most sensitive and constant in his affections, that I ever met. He divided his affection between his fatherland, whose high mission he understood; his mother, a model of every virtue; his brothers, and myself. He had a capacious and ready intellect and was capable of the grandest ideas—for the grandest ideas come from the heart. Those who knew Jacopo Ruffini hold his memory in constant veneration as that of a saint.

Arrested by the police, Jacopo Ruffini feared that they might extort some revelation from him

by torture, and he decided to kill himself. He wrenched from the prison gate a rusty piece of ironwork, sharpened its point on the walls, and opened his veins (June 19, 1833). He was twenty-eight years old. His brother Giovanni, having with difficulty eluded the police, went first to Marseilles, then into Switzerland, and finally to England, where he won fame by his novels *Il dottor Antonio* and *Lorenzo Benoni*. Lorenzo Boggiano, proprietor of the house in which the conspirators assembled, committed suicide to avoid arrest. Several of the conspirators were sent to their death—at Genoa, or Alessandria, or Chambéry. Vincenzo Gioberti, a young priest who was becoming known for his philosophical writings, was arrested at Turin, but precise evidence against him was lacking and after three months of imprisonment he was exiled.

The savage persecution of his followers by the Piedmontese government spurred Mazzini on to the organization of a movement against Charles Albert. On the border between Switzerland and Savoy he got a few hundred fugitives together and put them under the command of Colonel Ramorino, a Piedmontese who had acquired some renown in the recent Polish insurrection. Early in 1834 these insurgents marched into Savoy. But they met with such a cool reception at the hands of the people, who remained indifferent even to Joseph Mazzini's ardent proclamations, that they made their way back again after a brush

with the royal troops. Concerted movements were to have broken out at the same time in the various cities of the Kingdom, but in view of the failure of the Savoy expedition they were countermanded. The police, however, possessed information about them and proceeded to make arrests. A young seaman of Nice, Joseph Garibaldi, was implicated in this conspiracy. He had tried to gain adherents for Mazzini's ideas among the sailors of the royal navy. Fortunately for Italy he managed to escape from Genoa—in the guise of a peasant. He took refuge in Marseilles, and there for the first time saw his name printed in a newspaper; for he read that sentence of death had been pronounced against him.

Of course Mazzini, too, had been condemned to death—in absence. Persecuted even by the French and Swiss governments, he took shelter on the free soil of England. In the early years of his stay there he had to struggle with the most painful extremes of poverty. Afterwards his literary articles were accepted by the reviews. Through this channel he did good work in making the English public better acquainted with Italian literature, and helped to arouse a warm feeling of sympathy for his native land. Meantime he pursued, undaunted, the work of his political apostolate, seeking to excite in Italy an ever greater degree of hatred against domestic tyrants and foreign usurpation.

While Mazzini was becoming the centre of all the Italian conspiracies, Cavour was forming those political convictions which led him to adopt a position midway between the revolutionists and the reactionaries. He adopted, as he said himself, "cette politique qui consiste à accorder aux exigences des temps tout ce que la raison justifie, et qui leur refuse ce que n'est fondé que sur des clameurs des parties ou la violence des passions destructives."

Early in 1831 he had been sent—perhaps as a punishment for his Liberal views—to the fort of Bard, in the valley of Aosta. After a few months among the mountains, becoming more and more disgusted with the soldier's life, which little suited his too lively temperament, and being ill-content to see that even the new sovereign, Charles Albert, was continuing the retrograde policy of his predecessors, Camillo Cavour sought and obtained his father's leave to resign his commission.

In November, 1831, therefore, Cavour abandoned the military career. Desiring some employment for his energies, he took up the administration of certain estates that were entrusted to him by his father, and in a short time he acquired a sound knowledge of agriculture. His passion, however, was for politics—but for politics as the science of government, not (as they were to Mazzini) the subject of an apostolate. His dream, as we know already, was to become First Minister of the Kingdom of Italy. For the

present there was no probability that it would be realized. But it was possible to prepare himself; and Cavour's life, from twenty to forty years of age, was nothing but a preparation for that office. During his frequent travels in Switzerland, France, and England he paid close attention to those Liberal institutions that he desired to see introduced into Piedmont—institutions which, as he thought, must contribute to an economic as well as a political revival in his country, in fact to a wholesome reawakening of all its energies.

From 1832 he had the intention of making a tour in Lombardy-Venetia, but the Austrian ambassador at Turin gave an unfavourable account of him to the authorities at Milan:

> This young man belongs to one of the most respected families in Piedmont, and his father, the Marquis di Cavour, who is held in general esteem, is the first to deplore the conduct and the principles of his younger son. . . . I regard him as a very dangerous man. All attempts to correct him have been fruitless. He needs, therefore, to be watched continually.

On this information the director-general of police at Milan sent the following instructions to the commissioner of Buffalora, on the border between the Kingdom of Sardinia and Lombardy-Venetia:

> Be on the look-out; for the young Piedmontese cavalier Camillo di Cavour, formerly officer of

engineers, and, in spite of his youth, already old in the corruption of his political principles, is about to start on a journey. I make haste, Mr. Commissioner, to give you this information, with the suggestion that you should refuse to admit him, when he presents himself on this frontier, unless he has passports in perfect form, and in that case only after a minute inspection of his baggage and his person, for I have warning that he may be the bearer of dangerous letters.

A little later all the commissioners of police were warned by circular that Camillo Cavour was excluded from the provinces subject to Austria. But in 1836—perhaps because the new Austrian ambassador at Turin was more favourably disposed towards him; perhaps because Cavour, by reason of a stay of many months in France and England, was no longer talked about at Turin—he managed to obtain a passage through Lombardy-Venetia to Villach, "on lawful business" and "for once only." On his return journey he stayed for some days at Trieste and at Venice. He wished to go into the Papal States, but was prevented by a sanitary cordon which had been ordered on account of cholera.

Notwithstanding his studies and travels, life began to seem empty and monotonous to him. The means of acquiring the glory that he desired did not present themselves, and the bold confidence of but a little while before began to grow faint. Yet when, in the course of his first visit to Paris,

PALAZZO CAVOUR, TURIN
Where Cavour was born and died
From a photograph

he was urged to settle down in that great centre, where he would quickly have acquired the celebrity that he vainly sought in Piedmont, Cavour answered nobly (May, 1835):

No, no; it is not by fleeing from one's native land because she is unhappy that one can reach a glorious end. . . . Happy or unhappy, my country shall have all my life. I will never be unfaithful to her, even though I were sure of finding a brilliant future elsewhere.

But he had to wait long for the opportunity of employing his great qualities in his own land. He knew that he possessed as much capacity and knowledge as the men who held the chief posts—and more. But his convictions restrained him from allying himself with the government so long as it followed its reactionary course, for that would have involved the sacrifice of cherished ideas that he meant to carry with him through life. On the other hand his proud bearing, and his contempt for every form of servility, had ill disposed Charles Albert towards him even from his youth. Charles Albert always showed a marked antipathy for him, and the young nobleman fully reciprocated it. For the cloudiness of Charles Albert's thought, the vacillations of his will, were unbearable to a man so clear in thought and so ready in decision as Cavour.

In such circumstances Cavour saw no hope of showing his great political talents. Sometimes he felt suffocated by the heavy atmosphere of ignorance and prejudice that characterized the life

of Piedmont. For there (so he wrote in a letter of August 24, 1843) "intelligence and knowledge are reputed infernal things by him who has the goodness to rule us." From time to time he went to breathe the free air of Switzerland, France, England. From these travels he returned with a mass of political information, and a knowledge of social science; with a boundless admiration for the English conception of liberty; and with a still more ardent passion for politics. His Genevan friends induced him to write articles for the Swiss and French reviews on political and social questions, and especially on subjects concerning England, such as: *Thoughts on the Condition of Ireland and its Future; The English Corn Laws; Pauperism and the Official Report of the Commission on the Administration of the Poor Law in England.*

Inaction was unbearable to him. From 1835 he was entrusted by his father with the administration of a great estate at Leri (in the environs of Vercelli) and threw himself into the occupations of a country gentleman, thus acquiring a valuable fund of experience. Then he embarked on a career of speculation. He organized industrial societies, shared in railway enterprises, became a real man of affairs. And since the inconveniences of political division and of all the old institutions were felt more strongly now that Italy was becoming an industrial country, the commercial schemes with which Cavour busied himself were a means of preparing for the new political era.

V

PROGRESS OF LIBERAL IDEAS

O patria adorata,
Che vivi agli affanni,
Più sacrá cogli anni
Diventi per me:
M'è sacro il tuo cielo,
M'è sacro il tuo suolo,
M'è sacro quel duolo
Ch'io sento per te.

GABRIELE ROSSETTI (1783–1854): *Inni.*[1]

[1] O adored country, born to suffer griefs, for me thou dost become more hallowed with the passing years. To me thy sky is sacred, sacred is thy soil to me, sacred is that sorrow which I feel for thee.—*Hymns.*

CHAPTER V

PROGRESS OF LIBERAL IDEAS

Application of machinery to industry—The first railways in Italy—Development of the middle class—Patriotic literature and Scientific Congresses—Gioberti's *Il Primato d'Italia*—The brothers Bandiera—The *New Guelf* party—Condition of the Papal States—Reawakening of patriotic aspirations in Charles Albert.

THE long peace had favoured the development of commerce and industry, and the use of machinery which now began to spread in Italy accelerated this economic progress. A reawakening from the torpor that had been the characteristic of the Restoration period became daily more noticeable. Industrial and artistic exhibitions, on a small scale, were opened; savings-banks were founded; agricultural societies were formed to popularize through the peninsula the improvements that had been already introduced into the agriculture of other countries; and the first railway projects were discussed. The earliest railway to be opened in Italy was the short trunk line, eight kilometres in length, between Naples and Portici. It was constructed in 1839—rather for the convenience of the Court, which had a castle with exten-

sive pleasure grounds at Portici, than in the interests of the public. Next year the line, thirteen kilometres long, from Milan to Monza was opened. Its construction had also been determined by similar considerations. But meantime work was begun on the great railway from Milan to Venice, and in 1842 the first section, between Mestre and Padua, was opened for traffic. The building of the splendid bridge across the lagoon, in order to connect Venice with the mainland, had been already begun, and in January, 1846, it was declared open, simultaneously with the railway from Padua to Vicenza, with imposing ceremony. In Lombardy the first trunk line from Milan to Treviglio was opened at the same time. In Tuscany, too, the short stretch of line from Leghorn to Pisa was laid down in 1844, and in Piedmont men were considering the project of a whole system of lines which should radiate out from Alessandria to Turin, Genoa, and Lake Maggiore. The most cultured people of the peninsula showed an active interest in this remarkable progress, and many books were published on the subject.

Cavour himself in 1846 published in the *Nouvelle Revue* an article comparing the important results that would follow from railway enterprise with those of the geographical discoveries of the fifteenth century. And he added, so far as concerned Italy, it would reawaken the spirit of nationality:

A system of communications that will stimulate a constant movement of people in every direction, and

will bring populations that have hitherto remained strangers to each other into immediate contact, must contribute largely to the destruction of the petty municipal passions, born of ignorance and prejudice, which have been already undermined by the efforts of all enlightened Italians. . . . For this result we pray with fervour. It will be the victory of Italian independence—a supreme boon that Italy could never gain except by the united efforts of all her children; a boon without which she cannot hope for any real and lasting improvement in her political condition, nor move with steady step along the path of progress.

Amid this industrial and commercial growth the middle class became more and more numerous and wealthy. It awakened by degrees to a sense of its own strength, and was more courageous in showing a desire for reform. Little by little the whole feeling of Italy was being altered to such an extent that many new institutions readily found ardent advocates. Efforts were made to promote popular education; many infant schools were established, thanks especially to Ferrante Aporti; literary and illustrated periodicals were founded, for as yet it was impossible to publish political organs; and in everything the love of Italy was asserted in terms of growing emphasis. The Italian literature of the day was imbued with the idea of the country's regeneration. In spite of the censorship of the press, its writers found means to indicate their patriotic sentiments, and the

public knew how to catch up at once the slightest allusion to the theme of nationality.

The Scientific Congresses that were begun at Pisa in 1839, and were afterwards held every year in one or other of the Italian States (except the States of the Church), helped to spread these aspirations far and wide. For they facilitated intercourse between eminent men scattered over the various provinces of Italy. So there was being formed in all cultured and intelligent society a strong conviction that radical changes were necessary in Italy's political institutions.

. . . . . .

Precisely because this public opinion was now felt to be powerful, some thinkers held that the system of secret societies and plots ought to be abandoned in favour of a more practicable method. The exponent of the new national programme was the Piedmontese priest Vincenzo Gioberti (born in 1801), who on being exiled from Piedmont in 1833 had taken refuge in Brussels, and there in 1843 published his famous book *Il Primato morale e civile degli Italiani*. After extolling the past glories and lamenting the present miseries of the Italians, he concluded that "with a little good-will and energy we can, without shocks, without revolutions, without injustices, become again one of the foremost peoples of the universe." Seeking to bring the theories of the revolution into harmony with actual circumstances, he renounced the dream

of unity and was content to advocate a confederation of the existing States under the presidency of the Pope. He predicted that the Pope and the princes, if won over to ideas of justice and compassion, would ally themselves in a friendly understanding with their people. Under the influence of the Catholic Democratic movement, then becoming prominent in Europe, he declared that every plan of Italian revival was useless, unless it had the Papacy for its corner-stone.

> The history of Italy is that of the Papacy; the history of the Papacy is identified with that of the whole civilized world. Rome, the religious capital, ought to be likewise the civil and moral metropolis of the human race. And as Rome is the privileged seat of Christian wisdom, Piedmont is in our day the chief centre of Italian military power. On Rome, therefore, and on Turin the fate of Italy depends.

Its singular temperateness of idea, and its eulogistic references to the Papacy and the princes, saved this book from being prohibited. It circulated largely through all the peninsula, and evoked the enthusiasm of many Liberals.

At that moment was heard a fresh sound of revolt—the glorious but sorrowful episode of the brothers Bandiera. These two young Venetians, officers in the Austrian navy, were intensely patriotic, and were grieved to see their father, an Austrian rear-admiral, make himself a zealous instrument of the foreign government. They de-

cided to devote their lives to the redemption of Italy. In the judgment of Mazzini, with whom they entered into correspondence, they were the sincerest souls, the most finely tempered and hallowed by affection and self-sacrifice, that he had met since the death of Jacopo Ruffini. In agreement with another Venetian officer, Domenico Moro, they planned to seize the frigate *Bellona*, on which they were serving, but before they could carry out the plot they had reason to fear that it was discovered, and they fled to Corfù. The Austrian Government tried, through their mother, to induce them to return to their native land under a promise of pardon, but they did violence to their strong family affection and withstood their mother's entreaties. Soon afterwards they set out from Corfù, with seventeen companions, to support the insurrection that had just broken out in Calabria; but the rising was suppressed before they arrived, and they fell into the hands of the Bourbon soldiery. They were shot on July 25, 1844. Heroes that they were, they met their fate serenely. Their last cry, addressed to the few silent but deeply moved spectators of that terrible scene, was *Viva l'Italia!*

Shall that cry, young men, be a bitter irony [asked Joseph Mazzini at the time] or will you receive it, hallowed as it is by the supreme self-sacrifice of the best among us, that you may embody it in your lives? . . . The Faith for which such men seek death, as

the young lover seeks the embrace of his betrothed, is not the frenzy of reprehensible agitators, or the dream of the deluded few; it is a religion in the germ; it is a decree of Providence. At the flame of patriotic fervour that rises from these tombs the Angel of Italy will kindle, sooner or later, the torch that shall spread illumination a third time from Rome—not indeed, as false prophets suggest to you, from the Rome of the Pope (once great, but now, however they may prate of it, extinguished for ever), but from the Rome of the people, the home of Progress.

The closing words of this passage bring out clearly the distinction between Gioberti's policy and Mazzini's. Both these great thinkers were animated by fervent patriotism; both had strong faith in Italy's high destiny and foretold it with confidence when they asserted that the regeneration of humanity must begin at Rome. But Gioberti, seeking to link the future to the present, was content to demand reforms; while Mazzini wished to destroy all the States in the peninsula to make room for a single one—the Italian Republic. Around Mazzini, therefore, gathered the warmest and most exalted temperaments in the peninsula; the more moderate Liberals received Gioberti's ideas with favour and presently formed the party which, because it desired to place the Pope at the head of the Italian movement, was called the *New Guelfs*.

Another Piedmontese writer, Cesare Balbo, though welcoming the suggestion that the Pope

should head the confederation, argued that the first aspiration of Italians ought to be for the independence of their country, and that Austria ought therefore to be excluded from the Italian league. The fall of the Ottoman Empire was near, he said, and it was Austria's interest to extend her sway in the Balkan Peninsula and cede Lombardy-Venetia to Italy.

. . . . . .

Macaulay shows us the condition of the Papal States in those very years in which Gioberti and Balbo wished to put the revival of Italy into the Pope's hands. He was at Rome in 1838, and from there he wrote:

> The States of the Pope are, I suppose, the worst governed in the civilized world; and the imbecility of the police, the venality of the public servants, the desolation of the country, and the wretchedness of the people, force themselves on the observation of the most heedless traveller. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the population seems to consist chiefly of foreigners, priests, and paupers.

In a report dated March 3, 1837, Baron Bunsen, the Prussian representative at Rome, also gave an extremely gloomy account of the States of the Church. What foreigners observed claimed the attention, too, of the distinguished poet Giuseppe Gioachino Belli. In his sonnets in Roman dialect he lashed that world of corruptors and corrupted, and helped to shake the respect even of the popu-

lace for its institutions. And from Florence came an echo of the enthusiastic applause that had just greeted Niccolini's new tragedy *Arnaldo da Brescia*—a daring protest of Italian lay thought against the civil and political supremacy of the Pope.

But in spite of the great success of Niccolini's tragedy, the current of public opinion showed itself favourable to Gioberti's ideas. Pope Gregory XVI. alone seemed heedless of popular feeling. He responded to those pages of glowing praise of the Papacy by a still more furious persecution of the Liberals. Just at that time an insurrection broke out at Rimini (1845). It was quickly suppressed, but it merits especial notice because of a manifesto, written by Luigi Carlo Farini (born in 1812), in which the insurgent Liberals set forth their modest desires. They asked for a complete amnesty for political offenders; civil and criminal codes, modelled on those of the other civilized peoples of Europe; municipal councils, elected by the citizens and approved by the Pope; provincial councils, nominated by the Pope, each member of which was to be chosen by the Pope out of three persons presented by the municipal councils; a supreme Council of State, chosen by the Pope out of three persons presented by each of the provincial councils, and having power to decide in matters of finance as well as a consultative function with regard to all other subjects; all public offices and civil, military and

judicial dignities to be reserved for laymen; a restriction of the censorship of the press; the disbanding of the foreign troops and the formation of a militia. They demanded, in short, "that the government should promote all those social reforms which are called for by the spirit of the age, and by the example of all the civil governments of Europe."

Their demands were eminently just, and Massimo D'Azeglio, the distinguished Piedmontese novelist and painter, writing of these events in his little book *Gli Ultimi Casi di Romagna*, said it was not a case for conspiracy but for open protest, on every possible occasion, against all the injustices that were being committed:

> This conspiracy in the light of day, plainly labelled that all may know its nature, is the only kind that is useful or worthy of us and of public favour. . . . When a whole nation sees the justice of a change, and desires it, the thing is done.

It was natural that these great demonstrations of public opinion should deeply impress Charles Albert, who in his heart of hearts still cherished the patriotic ambitions of a former time. In a manuscript of 1839, entitled *Confiteor*, he wrote:

> I confess that in 1821 I should have been more prudent if, notwithstanding my extreme youth, I had kept silent when I heard talk of war—of the desire to widen the king's dominions, to contribute to the

LUIGI CARLO FARINI
From a contemporary print

independence of Italy, to obtain, at the price of our blood, a power and an extension of territory that should secure the country's happiness. But those impetuosities of a young soldier's mind cannot now be denied by my grey hairs. Certainly in these moments I would not wish anything done contrary to the maxims of our holy religion; yet I feel that, to my last breath, my heart will beat high at the thought of Italy, and of independence from the foreigner.

His aspirations were checked in part by his profound religious sentiment, which amounted, indeed, to mysticism. This alienated him from every thought of political liberty, in which he saw a menace to the Church as well as to the throne. But it did not prevent him from aiming at national independence, and while Italian public opinion was awakening he gradually revealed, amid the cloudy uncertainty of his views, the hatred that he felt for Austria. In April, 1846, he was so bold as to show indignation towards her on a question of customs-duties. Contrasted with the servility of all the other Italian States, his action seemed a great audacity, and it was enough to arouse again the faith of many Liberals in Charles Albert.

VI

REFORMS AND ENTHUSIASMS

Fratelli d' Italia,
L'Italia s' è desta;
Dell' elmo di Scipio
S' è cinta la testa.
Dov' è la Vittoria?
Le porga la chioma,
Chè schiava di Roma
Iddio la creò.
Stringiamci a coorte,
Siam pronti alla morte,
Italia chiamò.
Noi siamo da secoli
Calpesti e derisi,
Perchè non siam popolo,
Perchè siam divisi.
Raccolgaci un' unica,
Bandiera, una speme;
Di fonderci insieme
Già l'ora suonò.

GOFFREDO MAMELI (1828–1849): *Inni.*[1]

[1] Fellow-Italians, Italy has awakened; she has encircled her brow with Scipio's helmet. Where is Victory? She bows her head to you, for God made her the slave of Rome. Let us rally to the cohort; Italy has called us and we are ready—even unto death. For centuries we have been trampled on and scorned, since we are not a nation, but divided. Let us gather round a single banner, one hope; already the hour for union has struck.—*Hymns*.

CHAPTER VI

REFORMS AND ENTHUSIASMS

Enthusiasm for Pius IX.—Reforms in the Papal States, Tuscany and Piedmont—Cavour as journalist—Condition of Lombardy-Venetia and the Duchies of Modena and Parma—Ferdinand II. of Naples—The Sicilian revolution and the concession of a Constitution to Naples—Charles Albert grants the Statute—*Benedite o gran Dio, l'Italia!*

THE election of Pope Pius IX. (June 16, 1846) marks the dawn of a new era for Italy. Pius IX. was a man of kindly disposition, animated by the best intentions, and he began his pontificate by granting an amnesty to political prisoners. To Italian minds prepared already by the *New Guelf* party, it seemed that the Pope of whom Gioberti dreamed had come—restorer of Italy's freedom and greatness. The enthusiasm thus aroused for Pius IX. assumed even greater proportions when it was known that he had appointed a commission of cardinals to inquire into the reforms necessary for the States of the Church, and had ordered the making of plans for the construction of railways, a benefit from which the Papal States had hitherto been excluded. Every time the new Pope went out from the Quirinal Palace

he was greeted with acclamations by the people, whose *Viva Pio IX.* expressed all the hopes and wishes of Italy.

But the majority of the Roman Curia still held to the old views. Aided by the ambassadors of the absolutist Powers, and especially by the Austrian representative, they tried to restrain the Pope from carrying out the new policy, and as he was without any very definite ideas of his own, and at the bottom of his heart was anxious to displease nobody, the result was that he came to no conclusion. Months passed by and not one of the promised reforms was put into effect. The people now began to show their desires more clearly. Liberty of the press was taken before it was granted. From January, 1847, political journals began to appear at Rome and Bologna, the two chief cities of the State, and the club followed hard on the newspaper. At last, in April, 1847, the Pope announced the institution of the Council of State which had been demanded by the insurgents of Rimini in 1845; yet the opposition of the Curia prevented its meeting till November 15th.

A year and more thus passed by without any essential change in the institutions of the Papal States; but a moral fact of high importance had shown itself—the reawakening of national consciousness. The whole peninsula was startled by the belief that the head of Christianity, hitherto regarded as the enemy of the new ideas, might instead be their defender.

ST. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN, ROME
From a photo by Alinari

In Tuscany the Grand Duke Leopold II. had governed for more than twenty years. Tradition and his own weakness had led him to carry on the mild régime of his predecessors, and he seemed although of Austrian stock, to live on fairly good terms with his people. In fact Tuscany was considered the happiest and most tranquil State in Italy. Yet even there, especially among the middle class, aspirations after a new order of things were not lacking. The first acts of Pius IX. stirred up this Liberal element, and it lost no opportunity of making the Grand Duke understand that he ought to follow the Pope's example. The Tuscan government was soon driven, by the incitement of public opinion, to grant some small measure of freedom to the press, and to introduce extensive judicial and administrative reforms.

In the Kingdom of Sardinia Charles Albert, convinced that national independence ought to be the first aspiration of Italians, sought to concentrate all the currents of public opinion on that object. He permitted, therefore, the warmly patriotic orations of the Congress of Scientists at Genoa in September, 1846, and the allusions to the expulsion of the Austrians from that city a hundred years before. At their last sitting the members of the Congress decided, almost in defiance of Austria, to hold the next congress at Venice. Meantime the Genoese, roused to a pitch of excitement, had resolved upon a solemn celebration of the anniversary of the expulsion of

the Austrians, and it was held on December 5th amid great enthusiasm. For in reviving that memory of the past they were foretelling a speedy repetition.

To put a stop to these Italian agitations the Grand Chancellor of Austria, Prince Metternich, decided on a daring step (by way of threat) that was to coincide with a reactionary conspiracy in Rome and the provinces. By the treaties of 1815 Austria had gained the right to maintain a garrison in the citadel of Ferrara (papal territory). In August, 1847, these troops, equipped as for war, occupied the rest of the city, too, and their commanding officer took the effective government of Ferrara from the Pope's representatives and assumed it himself. But the reactionary plots that were being organized in the Papal States were frustrated by the Liberals, and Austria's tyrannical action in Ferrara caused hot indignation throughout Italy. Under the stimulus of public opinion Pius IX. entered an energetic protest, and Charles Albert offered his aid. Mazzini himself joined in the general chorus that urged the Pope to liberate Italy. A civic guard was immediately organized in the Papal States and in Tuscany, the two provinces that seemed most in danger of an Austrian invasion, and in the warmth of popular feeling all the cities showed a readiness to lay aside their time-honoured discords and to hold festivals in honour of federation. This movement towards brotherhood developed amid

PALAZZO REALE, TURIN
From a photo by Brogi

a perfect deluge of poetry. The Italy of those days of 1847 could with truth be called the land of festivity, music, and song.

Amid such circumstances the Agricultural Congress of Casale-Monferrato was held in September, 1847. Many citizens of Lombardy-Venetia met in that Piedmontese town for the occasion, and the ties between the various provinces were drawn closer. The patriotic demonstrations were fervent enough, but what most impressed the members of the Congress was the reading of a letter from Charles Albert to an intimate friend, in which the King prophesied that the war of independence was at hand, and announced his readiness to put himself at the head of his army. The applause was extraordinary. Yet in Piedmont it was thought strange that a king so warm in patriotic affirmations had not yet introduced into his own realm the Liberal reforms that were at that very time being carried out at Rome and in Tuscany. On the contrary, when a popular demonstration was held at Turin on the evening of October 1, 1847, praising King and Pope, and calling for reforms, it was violently repressed by the police. A young poet who was among the demonstrators went home that night and wrote a poem in which he described Charles Albert as a *Re Tentenna* (Wobbling King). The description expressed the general feeling so well that his poem leaped into popularity in a single day. Who can say that those stanzas, wretched enough as poetry, may

not have exerted a decisive influence on the vacillating mind of the King?

It was at this time that Charles Albert received a visit from Lord Minto, who, on behalf of the English government, advised him to grant large reforms and free himself from reactionary counsellors. The last hesitations of the King were now overcome. On October 9th the Count Solaro della Margherita (who was the most distinguished representative of reactionary ideas, and had directed the foreign policy of Piedmont for fully twelve years) was relieved of his office. And at last, on October 30th, the King published a decree announcing the desired reforms: free election of communal and provincial councillors; improvements in police and justice; a little liberty for the press. In Piedmont, as already at Rome and in Tuscany, political journalism sprang at once into existence. Controlled by men of high intellect and heart, it was a powerful means of urging the government ever farther along the way of Liberalism, and of educating the Piedmontese people for a life of freedom.

The first political newspaper to appear in Piedmont was *Il Risorgimento*, founded and directed by Camillo Cavour. Although now thirty-seven years of age, Cavour was but little known and little understood even in his native Turin. The French reviews had only a small circulation in Italy, and the articles that he had published in them during recent years were un-

known to the Piedmontese public, who were consequently quite unaware of the vigorous workings of Cavour's mind. He had taken part in certain Liberal demonstrations, was one of the promoters of the Agricultural Association, and had helped to establish the first infant schools. But even this had not availed to remove the antipathy of the Liberal middle class. The *bourgeoisie* showed towards Camillo a little of the aversion that it felt for his father on account of his reactionary zeal in the office of Vicario of Turin. It was thus amid rather unsympathetic conditions that Camillo Cavour's journalistic life began.

. . . . . .

While in Piedmont, in Tuscany and at Rome reforms were developing some measure of political life among the populace, in the other States of Italy events were taking a very different course.

In Lombardy-Venetia the character of the government was but little modified under the new Emperor, Ferdinand I. (who had succeeded his father, Francis I., in 1835), for in all measures the influence of the Grand Chancellor, Prince Metternich, was even more powerful than before. Here, too, there had been a great development of industry and public works, and a remarkable growth of private prosperity, but this only increased the aversion for foreign domination. In the country districts the peasants showed indifference to every political idea, but in the towns

disgust for Austrian rule became more and more general as the Liberal middle class grew in importance. The election of Pius IX., however, raised the hopes of the patriots and stimulated public spirit. In December, 1846, occurred the death of Count Frederick Confalonieri, the illustrious ex-prisoner returned from the Spielberg, and his funeral at Milan was attended by an extraordinary number of citizens. It was proposed to subscribe for a monument in his memory, but the Austrian police vetoed the plan. Noisier demonstrations, with much shouting of *Viva Pio IX.*, took place in Milan in September, 1847, on the occasion of the new Archbishop's entry. The police ill-treated the crowd and some were wounded. Hatred of the Austrian was thereby aggravated. The Congress of Scientists met at Venice that month, and many of its members found means of showing their patriotic sentiments. The advocate Daniel Manin (born in 1804) especially distinguished himself. He made it clear that the Venetians, too, were disposed to join the national movement. In December one of the members of the Lombard Congregation, Nazari, delegate of Bergamo, addressed the Congregation on the discontent and unrest of the people, and proposed the appointment of a commission "to examine closely the present condition of the country, and, having investigated the causes of the discontent, to report upon them to the Congregation for its further proposals." Daniel Manin got possession of a

copy of this resolution. After a vain attempt to induce some member of the Venetian Congregation to bring it before that body, he himself drew up a requisition, inviting the assembly to follow the Lombard Congregation's example. Similar proposals were laid also before the Municipality of Venice. On December 30th, the eminent writer Nicolò Tommaseo (born in 1802) read to the Athenæum of Venice a discourse on the condition of literature in Italy. Speaking of the censorship of the press in the Austrian States, he pointed out that the right to discuss political subjects had been conferred by a law of 1815, and demanded that the government should uphold it.

The Austrian government took alarm at these Italian agitations. It redoubled the vigilance of the police, and sent reinforcements to the army that was already in Italy under the command of Marshal Radetzky. When the Milanese combined to boycott the tobacco sold by the government in the first days of January, 1848, the police abandoned themselves to such violent excesses that massacres occurred in the streets. Scenes of a like kind were enacted at Pavia and Padua in February. Manin and Tommaseo were afterwards arrested at Venice. By this time brute force was the sole support of the Austrian government in Lombardy-Venetia.

A treaty was made between Austria and the new Duke of Modena, Francis V. (who succeeded his father, Francis IV., in 1846), by which the

contracting parties pledged themselves to aid each other by every means in their power whenever one party so requested of the other. It meant that the Duke of Modena was invoking the intervention of Austria in order to check the Liberal demonstrations that were happening now in his country also. The treaty went on to say:

As by this agreement the States of the Duke of Modena enter into the line of defence of the Italian provinces of the Emperor of Austria, the Duke gives to the Emperor the right of sending imperial troops into Modenese territory, and of taking possession of Modenese fortresses, whenever the interests of common defence and military prudence may so demand.

The Duchy of Modena might therefore now be considered as annexed to the Austrian provinces of Italy. A little later the Duchy of Parma was reduced to the same condition. For the Duchess Marie Louise died on December 17, 1847, and was succeeded (according to the arrangement made at the Congress of Vienna) by Charles Louis of Bourbon, at that time Duke of Lucca, who, to make sure of his new possession, entered into a treaty with Austria analogous to that concluded by the Duke of Modena.

One other sovereign also had no intention of adopting the policy of reform—Ferdinand II., of Naples, a ruler of vulgar mind and low instincts, who thoroughly deserved the title of the Beggar King (*Re Lazzarone*). He had come to the throne in 1830, when little

more than twenty years old, but had soon made his worst qualities known. None but men devoid of a sense of dignity were about him, for he respected nobody and ridiculed all. Avaricious, he pushed the economy of his administration to the point of leaving his officials unpaid and letting them increase their salaries by accepting bribes. Superstitious, he allowed himself to be inspired in all affairs of State by his confessor and the Jesuits. Greedy of power, he would hear nothing of constitutional government. "My people have no need to think," he used to say; "I look after their well-being and their honour." And he did it so well that he made his government the worst in Italy. Cruel, even savage, by instinct, he had been restrained a little by his first wife (Maria Cristina of Savoy, daughter of Victor Emmanuel I.) from brutal treatment of his subjects during the early years of his reign. But after the death, in 1836, of that gentle and saintly woman, he married an Austrian archduchess, who, so far from counselling clemency, urged him on to greater severities. Agitation and tumult occurred often in the kingdom, and in 1837 a real insurrection broke out in Sicily, but Ferdinand II. re-established order by ferocious measures of repression. The election of Pius IX. produced the same excitement there as in the rest of Italy; but, since nothing could be hoped of the King, revolution was invoked by secret publications. Among them was a little book entitled *Protest of the People of*

the Two Sicilies. It made a great impression, but fortunately the police were unable to discover its author—Professor Luigi Settembrini. There were open revolts at Reggio in Calabria and at Messina on September 1st and 2d, 1847, though without any result save fresh and fiercer persecutions. Yet Sicily was by this time so completely imbued with the spirit of opposition to the Neapolitan government that in the early days of January, 1848, some one had the courage to post a daring proclamation at the street corners of Palermo, inviting the people to rise on January 12th. The invitation was welcomed and the revolution broke out. The officers in command of the troops, fearing to send their men out of the fortresses and barracks, stood strictly on the defensive—not that they were intimidated by the few hundred armed insurgents who swept through the streets on the first day of the rising, but because they felt that every citizen was stirred by the roar of revolt. Bands from the country districts came in, that night, to help the insurgents, and next day other citizens, encouraged by success, took arms, until the whole city, forgetting prudence and despising peril, had entered into the struggle. After fifteen days of fighting, the Bourbon troops were compelled to leave Palermo. The other towns of Sicily were not slow to follow Palermo's example, and a provisional government, independent of Naples, was soon organized for the island.

The events at Palermo caused great excitement

at Naples. The Liberals, emboldened, ventured to demand a constitution from the King. Seeing his crown in danger, Ferdinand II. by a decree of January 28th (published on the morning of the 29th) promised a constitution modelled on that of France of 1830. It entrusted the legislative power to two Chambers—one of Peers, nominated for life by the King; the other of Deputies, elected by the nation. In this way Naples outstripped the other Italian States, which had so far granted merely a number of reforms, and put itself at the head of the national movement. How easily past wrongs are forgotten in present contentment! At once the Neapolitans forgot the traditional perjury of the Bourbons. Unbounded acclamations greeted the King; and Gabriele Rossetti, who in London was suffering exile for the crime of believing the solemn oath of Ferdinand I. and of singing the praises of the constitution of 1820, sent once more in his trustfulness a new hymn to be sung before the palace of Ferdinand II.

. . . . . .

A highly characteristic event had happened in Piedmont early in January, 1848. The Genoese, wishing to hasten Charles Albert's progress towards Liberalism, sent a deputation to Turin to petition the King for the expulsion of the Jesuits, and for the institution of a civic guard such as had already been formed in Tuscany and at Rome. The journalists of Turin met on January 7th to

decide how they could best support the demands of the Genoese. While nearly everybody present inclined to a mere expression of sympathy with the Genoese deputation, the editor of *Il Risorgimento* openly declared that what ought to be demanded was not a civic guard and the expulsion of the Jesuits, but a constitution. Thus from the very beginning of his journalistic career, Camillo Cavour showed that he possessed, in eminent degree, the true characteristic of the statesman —rapid and exact perception of the situation. His proposal led to an animated discussion. Some held it premature and voiced their doubts. Perhaps the distrust that was felt for the sincerity of Cavour's Liberal opinions aroused in some a suspicion of invidious designs. The decision was postponed till the following evening. Meanwhile the King refused to receive the Genoese deputation. Nevertheless those journalists who had approved of Cavour's idea did not recede from their position, and at the second meeting they signed an address to the King praying for a constitution. The address was sent by post. A few days later Charles Albert spoke of it to the Marquis Roberto D'Azeglio, brother of Massimo. The King asserted explicitly that soldiers, not lawyers, were needed for the liberation of Italy, and that in the interests of national independence itself he was determined never to grant a constitution. In taking up this attitude he was moved also by a belief that he was permanently bound by

the declaration that he had subscribed in 1824, after his return from the expedition into Spain—a declaration that he would not alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

But matters were precipitated by the events of Sicily and Naples. At Turin, too, great demonstrations were made; the municipalities of Turin, Genoa, Alessandria, Novara and Vercelli demanded a constitution; and at last, on February 8, 1848, Charles Albert promised the required decree.

It is well to notice that this Piedmontese Constitution (which was afterwards extended to the rest of the peninsula and still rules Italy to-day) was promised and, in its essentials, fixed by the decree of February 8, 1848, although it was not promulgated till March 4th. It preceded the Parisian revolution of February 24th, and this fact explains its being modelled on the French constitution of 1830, which was still in force at that date.

A similar constitution was granted to Tuscany by its Grand Duke, Leopold II., under compulsion of public opinion.

A new era, bright with promise, was now beginning. In those very days of February, 1848, the Pope sent forth from the Quirinal the noble blessing: *Benedite, o gran Dio, l'Italia!* These magic words went to the hearts of Italians just at the moment when the thrill of the popular victory in the streets of Paris was passing through all Europe. So they acquired, for Italians, a

prophetic significance much greater than the Pope imagined. Benediction upon Italy must mean malediction upon the foreigner who dominated her, and who at that moment was staining the streets of her cities with Italian blood. The God whom the Italians were invoking (the poet Giovanni Prati openly declared it) was the formidable God of Vengeance!

VII

1848: THE YEAR OF ILLUSIONS AND OF POETRY

O giornate del nostro riscatto!
O dolente per sempre colui,
Che da lunge, dal labbro d'altrui
Come un uomo straniero le udrà!
Che ai suoi figli narrandole un giorno
Dovrà dir sospirando: "io non c'era,"
Che la santa, la invitta bandiera
Salutata in quel dì non avrà!

ALESSANDRO MANZONI (1785–1873): Octave added in 1848 to the Ode *Marzo, 1821*.[1]

[1] Oh, days of our redemption! Oh, for ever sorrowful he who shall hear of them from afar, from the lips of others, as though a foreigner; who, some day telling the story of them to his children, shall have to say, with a sigh, "I was not there"; who shall not have saluted, in those times, the sacred, unconquered banner!

CHAPTER VII

1848: THE YEAR OF ILLUSIONS AND OF POETRY

Venice and Milan free themselves from Austrian dominion—The war of independence—The Parliaments of Sicily, Naples, Rome, Tuscany and Piedmont—Austrian victories and armistice—Garibaldi—Ferdinand II. makes war against Sicily—Flight of the Pope and the Grand Duke—Piedmont at the beginning of 1849.

THE effects of the Parisian revolution of 1848 were felt in almost every part of Europe. Even Vienna, the capital of Austria, rose and demanded a constitution. And the news of that rising stirred all Lombardy and Venetia to revolt.

At Venice the people ran to the prisons, and by main force set Manin and Tommaseo free. Next they formed a civic guard. Finally they seized the arsenal, and drove the military commander from the city. On March 22, 1848, the fall of the Austrian domination was announced and a republic proclaimed, with Daniel Manin as President of the provisional government.

At Milan the revolution took a more sanguinary course. There arms and money were ready: and on March 18th barricades were thrown up and the whole city rose to expel the foreigner. For five

successive days and nights the struggle lasted. It ended in the people's victory. Events of that kind happened, too, in the other cities of Lombardy and Venetia, and by the end of March the Austrian army in Italy held nothing but the territory between the Mincio and the Adige, where it was able to shut itself up in the fortresses of Mantua, Peschiera, Verona and Legnago—the famous Quadrilateral.

At tidings such as these, one impulse alone was felt in every Italian breast. To hasten to their brothers' aid in the struggle with the foreigner was the sole thought of all Italians. At Turin in particular the effect of the Five Days of Milan was prodigious. While the government still wavered, Camillo Cavour published a rousing article in *Il Risorgimento* of March 23d. The opening passage ran as follows:

> The supreme hour for the monarchy of Savoy has struck—the hour of firm decision, the hour on which the fate of empires and of peoples depends. In view of the events of Lombardy and Vienna, hesitation, doubt, delay are possible no longer; of all policies they would be the most calamitous. We men of cool judgment, accustomed to pay more attention to the dictates of reason than to the impulses of the heart, feel bound in conscience to declare, after carefully weighing our every word, that one way only is open to the nation, the government, the king. That way is war—war immediate and without delay.

Anno I. Torino, 25 Marzo 1848. N° 74

IL RISORGIMENTO

GIORNALE QUOTIDIANO

POLITICO, ECONOMICO, SCIENTIFICO E LETTERARIO

PATTI DELL'ASSOCIAZIONE
DA PAGARSI ANTICIPATAMENTE

	Anticipate	Franc.	Trimestre	Mese
Torino . . . . . Lire	40	22	12	6
Stati Sardi franco al luogo . . .	44	24	13	6 50
Altri Stati Italiani ed estero franco ai confini	50	27	14 50	

Un sol numero, cent. 40.

Giovedì

Prezzo delle inserzioni — Centesimi 15 per riga.

LE ASSOCIAZIONI SI RICEVONO
Alagli Editori Cotta e Favale, dai librai Gianini e Fiore ed in provincia agli uffizi postali. La distribuzione nella Capitale avrà luogo a domicilio per gli Associati che ne faranno la domanda alla Tipografia Editrice. Le lettere saranno inviate franche *alla Direzione del Giornale* il. Risorgimento. L'Uffizio del Giornale sarà aperto dalle 10 antimeridiane alle 2 pomeridiane

Torino, 22 marzo.

L'ora suprema per la monarchia sarda è suonata, l'ora delle forti deliberazioni, l'ora dalla quale dipendono i fati degl' imperii, le sorti dei popoli.

In cospetto degli avvenimenti di Lombardia e di Vienna, l'esitazione, il dubbio, gl'indugi non sono più possibili: essi sarebbero la più funesta delle politiche.

Uomini noi di mente fredda, usi ad ascoltare assai più i dettami della ragione che non gl'impulsi del cuore, dopo di avere attentamente ponderata ogni nostra parola, dobbiamo in coscienza dichiararlo: una sola via è aperta per la nazione, pel governo, pel Re. La guerra! la guerra immediata, senza indugi!

Non è possibile l'indietreggiare: la nazione ne fatti è già in guerra coll'Austria. Essa si muove già tutta in soccorso dei Lombardi: i volontarii hanno già varcate le frontiere: i nostri concittadini fabbricano e spediscono apertamente munizioni ai Milanesi: egli è evidente: la pace è rotta coll'Austria: i vecchi trattati dall'una parte e dall'altra sono calpestati ed infranti.

Non si tratta quindi di decidere se le ostilità si abbiano, o no da cominciare. La sola questione è di sapere se ci dichiareremo lealmente, altamente per la causa dell'umanità e dell'Italia, o se seguiremo per lungo tempo le vie tortuose di una politica di ambagi e di dubbii.

Tale essendo lo stato delle cose, il dubbio lo ripetiamo, non è possibile. Anche pei meno ardenti, per gli uomini di Stato i più cauti, il dovere del governo è patente, palpabile. Siamo in condizione tale, in cui l'audacia è la vera prudenza; in cui la temerità è più savia della ritenutezza.

Forse vi sarà ancora chi dirà non esser noi preparati, e che col dichiarare ingenerosamente una terribile risposta dell'Austria: che la Russia e l'Inghilterra potrebbero in tal caso decidersi ad unirsi all'Austria a danno d'Italia.

A queste obbiezioni opporremo vittoriose risposte dettate dalla sola ragione. Se la Lombardia fosse tranquilla, sarebbe follia l'affrettare i tempi e cominciare le ostilità prima di avere radunato un esercito e preparatone tutti di offesa proporzionati alla forza dei nostri nemici.

Ma la Lombardia è in fuoco: Milano è assediata: ad ogni costo bisogna andare a soccorrerla. Quando non avessimo sulle frontiere che cinque mila uomini, questi dovrebbero correre su Milano. Forse questo sacrificio sarebbe inutile: è possibile, quantunque non lo credo uno probabile: ma questa mossa audita costringerebbe gli Austriaci ad abbandonare Milano, permetterebbe alla città di provvedersi di viveri e di munizioni: la metterebbe in istato di continuare l'eroica resistenza che ci tiene tanto dolorosamente sospesi da più giorni.

L'effetto morale di un principio di ostilità, la salvezza di Milano varrebbe più per la causa italiana, che non le nuocerebbe la sconfitta di un corpo di 5000 uomini. Muovano senza indugio i reggimenti stanziati a Novara, a Vercelli, a Vigevano. Corrano su Milano, corrano a dividere i pericoli e la gloria di quella eroica città.

Generosi noi, se per aiutare i nostri preparativi non giungessimo poi mai troppo! Generosi quando si tratta per varcare il Ticino, necessario la difesa della libertà e della nazione della Lombardia!

Le potenze, nelle attuali condizioni vi è una tale politica, non la politica dei Luigi Filippo e dei Guizot, ma la politica dei Federici, dei Napoleoni e dei Carlo-Emanueli. La grande politica, quella delle risoluzioni audaci.

Ma l'Europa? L'abbiamo già detto: di fatto la nazione ha dichiarata la guerra: e quella tremenda risponsabilità che ci si para dinanzi agli occhi qual fantasma spaventevole, l'abbiamo già incorsa. Se l'Austria si rassoda in Germania, se ella vince in Lombardia, ci muoverà la guerra. Se la Russia è disposta a sostenere la decrepita sua alleata contro i proprii sudditi ed i nemici che la circondano, le truppe russe saranno già a quest'ora partite per alla volta di Vienna.

Ma l'Inghilterra? Si dice che essa ha protestato, persino minacciato della sua collera il nostro paese se il Ticino è varcato. Non vogliamo affievolire la gravezza della determinazione che eccitiamo il governo a prendere. Le proteste dell'Inghilterra hanno un grave peso, noi neghiamo. Se fossimo in tempi ordinarii, forse sarebbe prudenza il darle ascolto. Ma in faccia dei casi di Milano, quando l'ora della liberazione d'Italia è suonata, quando i popoli si armano e si muovono impazienti contro lo straniero, lasciarsi fermare dalle proteste dell'Inghilterra sarebbe viltà; non una buona e grande politica, ma una politica meschina che, senza porci al riparo dai pericoli che ci sovrastano, *coprirebbe d'ignominia la nazione, e farebbe forse crollare l'antico trono della monarchia Sabauda in mezzo alla indegnazione dei popoli fremenli.*

Ma esaminiamo freddamente quali conseguenze possono avere le proteste dell'Inghilterra.

L'Inghilterra cesserà d'esserci alleata? ci abbandonerà alle nostre sorti? Sia pure! Noi non abbiamo mai divise le illusioni di alcuni nostri concittadini, che per pur mesi riguardarono l'Inghilterra come la futura liberatrice d'Italia. Abbiamo sempre pensato, e questo giornale ne fa fede, che la conservazione della potenza dell'Austria era nelle mire della politica inglese.

Ma per conservare questa potenza vorrà il gabinetto di S. Giacomo rompere la neutralità, muovere guerra all'Italia e farvisi solidaria del sistema assolutista? Non lo crediamo! Non già per troppa fede che noi abbiamo nella generosità e nella liberalità degli uomini di Stato inglesi. Benchè il potere sia nelle mani del partito liberale, se gli interessi politici dell'Inghilterra fossero compromessi, non ci stupirebbe il vedere lord Palmerston e lord John Russell stringere la mano di Metternich ancora stillante del sangue polacco ed italiano.

Ma dopo i moti di Vienna, i quali, qualunque ne sia l'esito momentaneo, hanno provato all'Europa, essere la monarchia austriaca impiantata sui vincibili germi di distruzione, l'Inghilterra non comprometterà certamente la pace del mondo per sostenere un edifizio che crolla da ogni lato: non renderà solidaria la politica del glorioso impero britannico con quella del cadente e cadaverico impero austriaco.

L'Inghilterra è apparecchiata alla guerra: può farla, e farla tremenda. Stolto chi il nega. Ma la guerra mossa dall'Inghilterra è non solo una guerra europea, è una guerra generale nelle quattro parti del mondo. Vorrà ella intraprendere questa lotta terribile perchè si combatte in Italia per acquistare quei diritti che sono sacri agli occhi del popolo inglese? Acconsentirà questo popolo a ricominciare la terribile storia delle guerre della rivoluzione, per impedire la liberazione dell'Italia?

Non è possibile. Il governo inglese, nel finire del secolo scorso, quand'ancora era quasi onnipotente l'oligarchia delle grandi famiglie patrizie, non potè indurre il parlamento alla guerra, se non dopo la morte di Luigi XVI ed il regno del terrore. Potrà ora un ministero che ha ripudiato le tradizioni di Pitt, indurre l'Inghilterra a cooperare alla barbara impresa di mantenere l'Italia nella schiavitù? E ciò non per utile proprio, ma per prolungare l'esistenza di uno Stato che da ogni lato si sfascia? Ciò non è credibile. Ma se, per mala sorte, i ministri inglesi fossero abbastanza accecati dalle logore massime di un'antica e vieta politica per dichiararsi contro l'Italia; se i Russell ed i Grey, contraddicendo a se stessi, ai loro atti passati, a quelli della loro parte, adottassero il sistema dei Castelreagh e dei Liverpool: se Italia tutta avesse a provare, per parte degl'inglesi, un trattamento pari a quello che soffrirono i Siciliani nel 1815; se l'Inghilterra si decidesse apertamente contro la causa dei popoli, e si facesse la propugnatrice dei principii assoluti, guai a lei! Si formerebbe contr'essa una tremenda coalizione, non più di principi, come sotto Napoleone, ma di popoli. E non vi sarebbe più pace nel mondo, finchè non fosse distrutta la potenza di un popolo, che avrebbe tradita la causa dell'umanità. E non per fanatismo, non per errore, ma per un calcolo della più perfida politica.

Rammenti l'Inghilterra che i tempi sono cambiati, che i sentimenti popolari si sono svolti per ogni dove, che anco nell'interno delle sue provincie i diritti del popolo contano numerosi ed ardenti difensori. Rammenti che nell'Olanda, nel Canadà e nelle colonie fervono le idee di separazione e di libertà estrema. Rammenti che essa non è più la sola gran potenza marittima del mondo; che trent'anni di pace le hanno preparato un tremendo rivale, gli Stati-Uniti, che non consentiranno giammai a lasciar, in caso di guerra, porre in vigore quella sua prepotente legislazione *sui neutri*, che gli permetteva di offendere i suoi nemici, e di mantenere quasi illeso il suo commercio. Rammenti infine che una guerra liberticida non potrebbe fruttarle, se l'fosse, che una vittoria senza gloria e senza utilità; mentre, se avesse esito conforme ai voti dei popoli, segnerebbe l'estrema sua rovina, e la precipiterebbe da quel trono, ove siede come la primogenita di Eva libertà e la regina dei mari.

C. Cavour

Vedi il *Risorgimento* N.ro 7.

Capo II. — *Della revisione annuale delle liste elettorali.*

Art. 32. Le liste degli elettori sono permanenti, salve le cancellazioni e le addizioni che [illegible] seguire al tempo determinato [illegible].

La revisione seguirà in conformità delle seguenti disposizioni.

Art. 33. L'amministrazione di ciascun comune dei Regii Stati farà ogni anno nella sua riunione ordinaria di primavera, la revisione delle liste dei cittadini del suo comune, i quali, secondo il disposto della presente legge, riuniscono le condizioni richieste per essere elettori.

A quest'effetto un esemplare delle liste [illegible] ste dirette, certificato conforme all'originale dal Prefetto, sarà spedito senza costo alle Amministrazioni comunali.

Queste Amministrazioni formeranno le liste e le faranno pubblicare nella [illegible]

Art. 34. Le liste rimarranno affisse durante dieci giorni, e coloro [illegible] l'invito ad oggetto che ciascuno desse aver richiami a farvi, d'indirizzarne a tal uopo alle Amministrazioni comunali entro giorni quindici a partire dalla data del manifesto di pubblicazione nel quale dovrà esprimersi il giorno in cui spirerà il divisato termine.

Art. 35. Nelle liste si porranno a riscontro del nome di ciascun individuo:

1. Il luogo ed il giorno della sua nascita, [illegible] se occorre, la data della [illegible] naturalità.

2. L'indicazione dei circondarii di perezione i cui sono allogate le imposte o proprie o delegate sino alla misura del censo elettorale.

3. [illegible] la specie di tali imposte per [illegible] censo elettorale.

Art. 36. Le liste conterranno egualmente a lato del nome di ciascun individuo la data e natura del titolo od il genere di commercio o di professione per gli quali esercisce il diritto elettorale, non meno che il luogo dove esercita il commercio, l'industria o la professione, o dove tengono la loro abitazione.

Art. 37. La pubblicazione prescritta dall'art. 34 terrà luogo di notificazione per rispetto agl'individui dei quali si sarà decretata l'iscrizione sulla lista elettorale.

Art. 38. Ogni volta che le Amministrazioni comunali toglieranno dalla lista elettorale i nomi d'elettori che vi erano inscritti nell'anno antecedente, [illegible] ranno in obbligo di darne loro avviso per iscritto ed al loro domicilio non più tardi d'ore 48 a contare dal giorno in cui la lista venne pubblicata; con [illegible] loro ragguaglio dei motivi della cancellazione ed [illegible] messione dei loro nomi nella lista pubblicata.

Art. 39. Lo stesso avviso sarà dato nell'egual spazio di ore quarantotto dalla data della decorazione definitiva della lista alle persone che [illegible] vane nella lista antecedentemente pubblicata, i nomi ne furon tolti per opera dell'Amministrazione comunale al tempo della definitiva decretazione della lista anzidetta.

Queste notificazioni seguiranno senza costo per opera d'agenti comunali.

Art. 40. I nomi degli elettori ammessi dalle Amministrazioni comunali al tempo della decretazione definitiva delle liste che non erano portati in quella già stata pubblicata, saranno resi noti al pubblico con nuovo manifesto da affiggersi nello stesso [illegible] mine di 48 ore dalla definitiva decretazione.

Il manifesto esprimerà che ogni occorrente chiamo [illegible] ricorso dinanzi l'Intendente generale dell'art. 44 della presente legge.

Art. 41. Dopo spirato il termine prefisso per chiamarsi contro le liste, le liste ed un esemplare [illegible] cuoli, non che tutte le carte, titoli, documenti, [illegible] dei quali le persone inscritteci avranno compilato [illegible] loro diritto elettorale, o che avranno dato ad operatesi cause [illegible] dovranno nello spazio di ore 24 trasmettere [illegible] Intendente della Provincia.

Un [illegible] della lista sarà serbato nel [illegible] greto [illegible] comune.

Si farà [illegible] della trasmissione mediante ricevuta spedita dall'Intendente.

Questa ricevuta sarà inviata all'Amministrazione comunale nella [illegible] consegnate le carte arrivate [illegible] sta di Ufficio d'Intendenza.

Se [illegible] tana [illegible] apposita menzione [illegible] un [illegible] speciale vidimato in ciascun foglio [illegible] Intendente.

Art. 42. L'Intendente fra giorni cinque [illegible] tardi d'ore [illegible] che avrà ricevuto le carte, dovrà

FACSIMILE OF "IL RISORGIMENTO" FOR MARCH 23, 1848

That night the council of ministers, under Charles Albert's presidency, decided to fight; and the King, in announcing this decision to his people, told them that he had adopted as his standard the Italian tricolour that for so long had been considered the symbol of revolution. Nor was it from Piedmont alone that help in the war of independence came. The example of Lombardy and Venetia had stimulated Parma and Modena to rise; they had quickly driven out their Dukes and the Austrian troops, and had pursued them to the Quadrilateral. And in Tuscany, in the Papal States and in the Kingdom of Naples popular enthusiasm compelled the princes to take a part in the great fight for freedom from the foreign yoke. In that wonderful spring of 1848 every one believed that Italy's servitude was verily at an end.

And the first battles were favourable to the Italians. The most glorious fight of the campaign was that of May 30th, in which the Piedmontese, commanded by Charles Albert himself, who from the opening of the war had served in the field, won the victory of Goito and finally took the fortress of Peschiera.

. . . . . .

Political elections and the calling of Parliaments in all the Italian States coincided with the outbreak of the war of independence.

The Sicilian Parliament was the first to meet (March 25th). It confirmed the appointment of

the venerable Admiral Ruggero Settimo as President of the provisional government, and turned afterwards to the discussion of the new political institutions that should be given to Sicily. At that time the main current of public opinion in Italy was set towards federation, not unity. Hence the Sicilians' project of constituting a separate kingdom, which should afterwards be allied to the other States of Italy. Secret negotiations were begun with Ferdinand II. of Naples, to induce him to cede the crown of the island to one of his sons; but he refused. Parliament thereupon declared (April 13th) that the Bourbon dynasty had for ever forfeited the Sicilian throne. As a sign of adhesion to the war of independence a contingent of volunteers, numbering about a hundred, was sent into Lombardy. But revolt from Naples was the great preoccupation. While the constitution was being drawn up a sovereign was sought among the Italian princes, and on July 10th the second son of Charles Albert, Ferdinand, Duke of Genoa, was unanimously elected, though the hated "Ferdinand" in his name was suppressed and he was proclaimed king as Albert Amedeo I. But to the Sicilian deputation that carried to him this offer of the crown he said that Italy's need of soldiers was greater than ever; that he was a soldier first; and that his desire was to fight for Italy. However, by his father's advice he took time to consider his reply. In such circumstances as these the provisional

government of Sicily appeared weak and insecure.

Ferdinand II. of Naples, on the contrary, had at the back of his mind a very definite programme. He wished to hear neither of a constitution nor of war with Austria, and he was waiting only for an opportune moment to withdraw the concessions that he had made. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Neapolitan Parliament was violently dissolved by the King on the very day (May 15th) on which it met for the first time. Ferdinand wished to turn to his own advantage the opposition shown towards him on that day by the deputies and the Liberal *bourgeoisie*, who, not without reason, distrusted his intentions. With his faithful troops he speedily put down all tumult and dispersed the House. Some of the deputies signed a protest, drawn up by the advocate Pasquale Stanislao Mancini, against "this act of blind and incorrigible despotism." And the Piedmontese Parliament, when it received the news of these events at Naples, showed its indignation at the perfidy of King Ferdinand, and the Foreign Minister himself, as well as several deputies, expressed in eloquent language its Liberal and Italian sentiments. Meanwhile Ferdinand had sent to General Guglielmo Pepe, in command of the Neapolitan troops that had set out for the scene of war, an order to bring them back. Rather than obey so treacherous a king, the old General resigned his office and invited the soldiers to follow him across the Po and fight for national

independence, but only a few hundred agreed to his audacious proposal. At this time Ferdinand, not yet daring to throw off the mask entirely, modified the electoral laws and caused fresh elections to be held on the revised lists. Nevertheless the new Parliament, although it showed great moderation of ideas, was not kept sitting for long. Summoned for July 1st, it was closed on September 5th.

But the man who had first set the example of withdrawing from the national movement was Pius IX., himself—Pius, whose reforms had given that movement its earliest impetus. Weak of character, disinclined for any glorious undertaking that involved toil and danger, he had never dreamed of becoming the herald of a revolution; he had merely wished to improve somewhat the conditions of his subjects. But the current of public opinion swept him further and further along, until at last, after the Parisian revolution of February, he was obliged to establish a constitutional government in the Papal States. His uncertainties and hesitations increased with every new concession. When the war with Austria broke out he was compelled to let his troops go; but the reactionary influences around him worked up in him the fear of a fresh German schism and he thereupon decided to recall his army. On April 29th he openly announced in Consistory that as representative on earth of the God of Peace he could not desire the war, and that he held both Austrian

and Italian in one paternal embrace. This attitude, exhibited precisely at the moment when the struggle between Italian and Austrian was at its fiercest, aroused hot indignation in the peninsula. There were tumults at Rome, and the Pope, yielding once more to popular pressure, allowed his men to continue fighting in North Italy. But everybody now understood that the Pope was no longer in agreement with the Italian people. Henceforth his constitutional ministers tried to make him say more than he wished, and he sought every opportunity of retracting even that which he had been induced to say. An address which Mamiani had prepared for the opening of Parliament on June 5th was so extensively altered by the Pope that his Ministers that same day offered their resignations. Cardinal Altieri alone met the House, and his sole announcement to it was a brief, simple greeting on the Pope's behalf. Finally, after some days of dispute and hesitation, the Pope allowed Mamiani to deliver to Parliament an address in which it was said that "our prince, as father of all the faithful, prays, blesses and pardons; as sovereign and constitutional ruler, he leaves to your wisdom the transacting of the greater part of the temporal business." The Italian movement was treated as an event foreordained by Providence:

> In the history of peoples there are some supreme moments in which the spirit of nationality takes

possession of them so strongly, and moves them so violently, that any opposing or hostile force not merely becomes weak but seems to be transformed into a stimulus and ferment. At a time of such solemnity a single thought, a single sentiment, a single unshakable determination invades and warms all hearts. Unanimity—so spontaneous and complete, so fruitful in prodigies, seems wonderful even to those who share it, and makes them utter with devout enthusiasm those words so full of power and significance: "God wills it."[1]

But a little later the Pope disowned the Minister's policy in relation to the war. The public saw that the one was trying to drag the other along the path that he meant to pursue; and owing to the inconsistencies thus produced both lost influence and authority.

At Florence the Grand Duke in person opened the Tuscan Parliament, on June 26th, in the great *Sala dei Cinquecento*. The weak ministry over which Cosimo Ridolfi presided had to face a lively opposition from the *Left*, which had no difficulty in exposing the sluggishness of a government driven forward by a current of opinion which it was powerless to control.

The Duchies of Parma and Modena had pronounced, by plebiscite, for annexation to the Kingdom of Sardinia. Lombardy, on May 29th, did the same. Venice, on the contrary, proclaimed

[1] The watchword of those who joined the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont.

a republic. In the province of Lombardy-Venetia, which was the theatre of war, political thought was naturally concentrated on the struggle with the foreigner. In June the Marshal Radetzky, commander of the Austrian forces, who had maintained a position within the Quadrilateral but was annoyed by the loss of Peschiera, determined to restore the morale of his troops by the reduction of the Venetian district, where only bands of insurgents and the Papal troops were to be met. By this means, too, he would facilitate the advance of the Austrian reinforcements which he expected. Leaving a few thousand men in the fortresses to deceive and obstruct Charles Albert, he flung out most of his troops against Vicenza, which in spite of a courageous defence was obliged to capitulate (June 11th). Then, while marching hastily back to the Quadrilateral to face Charles Albert, he sent some of his forces to occupy Padua and Treviso.

In view of these Austrian successes the idea of relying upon Charles Albert prevailed even in Venice. An Assembly was held in the hall of the Doge's palace, and after a short discussion it approved (July 4th) the motion of Paleocapa for a union with Piedmont. Daniel Manin himself invited his party to sacrifice the republican idea in the interests of independence.

The Piedmontese elections had been held in April. Parliament met for the first time on May 8th. The inaugural address was delivered by a

cousin of the King, the Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignano, who had been appointed Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom during the absence of Charles Albert at the war. Tumultuous applause greeted especially that passage of the address in which it was said that "the separate parts of Italy tend every day to draw more closely together, and there is great hope, therefore, that a common agreement may bind the peoples, whom Nature intended to form a single nation." Next day (May 9th) before the House of Deputies turned to its regular labours, one of the members, Lorenzo Valerio, of the democratic newspaper *La Concordia*, rose to submit a preliminary resolution:

In the serious circumstances in which our country finds itself—while war roars over the plains of Lombardy; while at Rome (whence so many moral aids, so much faith in the happiness of our beloved country, came to us) the sky, formerly so clear, is darkening; while battalions of armed men are assembling beyond the Alps; while our hearts are sad for the brave men who have fallen in the ranks of our army; while our troops are fighting valiantly, I would venture to say prodigiously, in this holy war—I believe I shall interpret the wishes of us all, and of the people which sends us here to be its instrument, if I propose that we should address to our gallant army, and to the valiant King who commands it, a word of confidence, of thanks, and of solemn assurance that in the present great emergency the whole country is ready to give its last drop of blood, its last soldier, its last coin to

ensure the final victory of the Italian nation, so that each one of us, when death comes, may be able to say: "I, too, have helped in this sacred and most noble work." I propose, therefore, that it be recorded in the minutes that the deputies of the nation are unwilling and unable to allow their first sitting to pass without solemnly testifying to the profound gratitude and confidence which the entire country feels for the King and the army.

The proposal was greeted with unanimous acclamations; and a few days later, when the credentials of the elected delegates had been duly verified, the House affirmed its sentiments afresh by the nomination of Vincenzo Gioberti, as president.

Camillo Cavour was unable to take part in these first sittings of the Piedmontese House, for although he had been nominated as a candidate for three Constituencies he was not elected in any. Hence while those political assemblies, that he had so desired to see established, were being inaugurated in Piedmont, his great political gifts could be shown only in the columns of his newspaper. But he was a successful candidate in the by-elections of June 26th, and he entered the House when it was beginning to be preoccupied with the reverses suffered in the war.

. . . . . .

After the insurrection of March the Italians had unfortunately considered a return of the

Austrians impossible. They had, therefore, neglected to concentrate their whole energies upon the war. Not all the young men who sang warlike hymns hurried to the front; many who went quickly tired of military service. The subsequent withdrawal of the Neapolitan militia, and the capitulation of the Roman troops at Vicenza, made success more difficult. Meantime the Austrians received reinforcements and were reanimated by their successes in the district of Venice, which was almost entirely reduced to submission. Radetzky now decided to take the offensive against Charles Albert. With his whole strength he attacked the Piedmontese on the heights of Custoza, between the Mincio and the Adige. The battle raged for three days (July 23–25), but at last the Piedmontese army had to retreat beyond the Mincio and fall back on Milan. Fighting was renewed beneath the walls of Milan on August 4th, and again it was unfavourable to the Piedmontese. The council of generals declared that any resistance in Milan was impossible. The King therefore was obliged to abandon the city (which was thereupon occupied afresh by the Austrians) and withdraw into Piedmont. On August 9, 1848, an armistice was concluded, by which it was settled that the frontier of the two States should be the boundary-line between the two armies.

But a willingness to observe this armistice was not universal; and among those who sought to carry on the war Garibaldi must be mentioned

first. His had been an adventurous life since that day of 1834 on which the young seaman of Nice was obliged to flee from Italy. He went to South America, where his romantic and poetic temperament found free scope in the life of a corsair in the service of the Republic of Rio Grande, which had thrown off the rule of Brazil. It involved six years of ceaseless struggle, marked by all possible mischances—shipwreck, privation, defeat, imprisonment. But his daring brought him through every peril. Going afterwards to Monte Video, he accepted in 1842, the command of a little flotilla in opposition to Rosas, the terrible dictator of the Argentine Republic, who desired to impose his will also upon Uruguay. Here too, in a series of engagements by land and sea, Garibaldi performed prodigies of valour. He formed a legion of Italians, who adopted as their uniform the picturesque red shirt and white breeches, and as their standard a black banner bearing the device of a volcano in eruption—a symbol of Italy in mourning but with a sacred fire in her breast. At the head of these legionaries he carried out enterprises that seemed impossible. The most glorious of their exploits was that of February 8, 1846, on the plains of S. Antonio, near Salto; a handful of Italians, surrounded by a large hostile force, defended themselves heroically for a whole day, and then accomplished a retreat of six miles to the fortress of Salto, though harassed continually by the enemy. News of these deeds of daring

reached Italy just when the peninsula was awaking to new life, and the bravery of men who were raising the reputation of Italian valour so high was felt to be an augury of Italy's destinies. A subscription was opened for the purpose of presenting a sword to the valiant leader, whose name, hitherto unknown, became immediately famous. In 1848, on hearing of the developments in Italy, Garibaldi set out from Monte Video with a band of comrades in arms, and, reaching Italy at the end of June, hastened to Charles Albert's headquarters in order to offer his services to the King in whose name he had, in 1834, been condemned to death. But Charles Albert, surrounded by men who were afraid of the consequences of arming the people, received the fiery captain from America with hesitation; and Garibaldi, weary of the King's vacillations and the evasions of the Ministers, offered his aid to the provisional government of Milan, which gave him command of the volunteers scattered between Milan and Bergamo. He had scarcely organized this corps of volunteers when the armistice of August 9th was declared. Garibaldi was unwilling to recognize it, and at the head of a thousand men maintained himself in arms for two or three weeks on the shores of Lake Maggiore. Then, pursued by a whole army-corps, he was compelled to take refuge in Switzerland.

Venice, too, would hear nothing of the armistice. Charles Albert's commissioners, who had held the reins of government since the annexation, withdrew

on August 11th. Daniel Manin told the people, assembled in the great square, that within two days the Assembly would be called together in order to nominate a new government. "For those forty-eight hours," he added amid deafening cheers, "I govern." On August 13th, the Assembly, interpreting the feeling of the country, constituted a provisional government and entrusted the presidency to Daniel Manin, who continued to show high political judgment.

Thus, although the whole of the Lombardo-Venetian province had attempted to shake off the Austrian yoke, Venice alone remained free—protected by her lagoons. In the Duchies of Parma and Modena also Austrian troops restored the old governments.

. . . . . .

Ferdinand II. of Naples was overjoyed at the Austrian victories. He was now sufficiently emboldened to prorogue the Neapolitan Parliament, and his armies attempted the reconquest of Sicily. By this time, after the disasters of the war with Austria, Charles Albert's second son had definitely refused the Sicilian crown. The provisional government of Palermo had to face the conflict alone. It had made no great preparations for armed resistance; yet when, on September 3d, the Bourbon fleet appeared off Messina and opened a bombardment, while from the citadel, which had all along been in the hands of Bourbon troops, a fire not less terrible was directed on the city, the

inhabitants conducted the struggle with heroism. Time after time they drove back the Neapolitans who had landed from the fleet. On September 7th the enemy effected an entrance into the city, but even there the desperate defence was kept up from house to house till the Bourbon troops, to end it, set fire to several quarters. Then, victors at last, they gave themselves up to the worst of excesses. The horrors were so great that the commanders of the French and English fleets off the Sicilian coasts intervened to stop such barbarity. They imposed a truce, which King Ferdinand was obliged to respect, and then, making themselves mediators, opened negotiations that lasted several months.

In the Papal States, amid constant opposition between Pope, ministers and public opinion, the Government was working badly. Yet there was one man of high ability and strong character who believed he could make himself master of the situation. That man was Pellegrino Rossi. From his youth he had shown patriotic sentiments; in 1815, when Murat proclaimed the war of independence, he threw up the duties of a professor of law in the University of Bologna to follow, as a civil commissioner, the army of the King of Naples. On the failure of the expedition he went into exile —first to England, then to Geneva, finally to Paris, where he was appointed a professor at the Collège de France and distinguished himself among the most eminent economists. Afterwards

Louis Philippe sent him as ambassador to Rome, and there he stayed as a private citizen after the proclamation of the French Republic. In September, 1848, it seemed to the Roman Curia that Rossi was the man suited to the grave circumstances of the time; and, under the delusion that he could reconcile the government of the Pope with the spirit of liberty and modern progress, he assumed his difficult office with zeal and courage. His first aim was to restore the prestige of the Government, and to maintain order and tranquillity in the State. Thus he drew upon himself the hatred of the street-agitators, who under his weak predecessors had developed great audacity. At the same time he was opposed by the reactionary party, who wanted none of his administrative and financial reforms; his lukewarmness on the question of the war against Austria cost him the support of the patriots; and he was personally disliked by many people on account of his arrogant bearing. A strong wave of hostile feeling was stirred up against him. On November 15th he was assassinated while ascending the staircase of the Palazzo della Cancelleria, where the Roman Parliament held its sittings. And the citizens showed no indignation at the crime—so completely were moral principles obscured, in those days, by the fury of party strife. The Radicals, thinking to profit by the general bewilderment, raised a tumult in order to impose a ministry of their own views on Pius IX. The Pope submitted to the clamour

of the mob; but a few days later (on the night of November 24th) he fled secretly from Rome and took refuge in the castle of Gaeta, which was placed at his disposal by King Ferdinand of Naples. Thus Pius also made it clear that he had definitely abandoned the national cause. In Rome, amid stormy agitations, the idea prevailed of calling a Constituent Assembly to decide the future of the State.

It may be said in general that in 1848 the more temperate elements were uppermost everywhere from the first; but, for the carrying out of their policy, which was to proceed by agreement with the ruling princes, it was necessary that the latter should embrace the national cause with sincerity. The rulers acted otherwise, and the Moderate policy was doomed to failure. Even in Tuscany the government passed into the hands of the Radicals. Distrust of the Grand Duke led to frequent agitations, especially at Leghorn. On October 27, 1848, the Grand Duke realized that he must appoint a democratic ministry. Montanelli, the professor, and Guerrazzi, the novelist, were members of it. But a little later, seeing the course that events were taking, the Grand Duke withdrew to Siena, the centre of the reactionary party (January 30, 1849); afterwards he followed the example of Pius IX. and fled to Gaeta. A provisional government with Guerazzi (born in 1804) as its most important personage, was organized in Tuscany.

In Piedmont also the most inflammable elements tried to gain the upper hand. Camillo Cavour, persuaded that their excesses would bring the country into the gravest perils, fought the Radicals fiercely in his newspaper and in the House. He had not yet succeeded in overcoming the old antipathies that were attached to his name, and now he became still more unpopular. His speeches often caused an uproar in Parliament, but he refused to be perturbed by hostile demonstrations. "The uproar will not deter me," he said once; "for I shall continue even with this not very agreeable accompaniment." And on another occasion: "That which I hold to be the truth, I shall utter—in spite of tumults and hisses. He who interrupts me insults not me but the House."

The situation in Piedmont was exceedingly grave. The prestige of the royal army had been shattered; during the retreat the King himself had suffered the most atrocious insults at Milan. The exchequer was empty. The general discontent was driving political parties into extreme courses. Yet the idea of renewing the war dominated the minds of all. The man who at that time enjoyed the greatest influence was Gioberti; and as the Democrats began to give him their ardent support, Charles Albert, overcoming his repugnance, decided in December, 1848, to entrust Gioberti with the responsibility of forming a new ministry. Side by side with Gioberti in this democratic cabinet stood the advocate Urbano

Rattazzi (born in 1810), who had already acquired a leading position in the House by a ready intellect, oratorical power and political sagacity.

On December 16, 1848, in introducing the new ministry to the House, Gioberti declared that the first principles of his programme were "the defence of our nationality and the development of institutions." "Italian nationality," he added, "hangs on two hinges—the independence and the union of the peninsula." And again: "Independence cannot be achieved without arms, and to arms, therefore, we shall devote our utmost care." "The complement of union is confederation between the various States of the peninsula;" therefore "we shall attend closely to the concerting, with Rome and Tuscany, of the most suitable and speedy means of calling a constituent assembly, which, besides endowing Italy with civil unity (without prejudice to the autonomy of the various States of our country and to their rights), shall make it easy to use the forces of all for the common deliverance." Speaking afterwards of the development of institutions, he said that it "is founded principally on the accord of the constitutional monarchy with the democratic spirit." And he concluded: "We shall be Democrats; we shall occupy ourselves especially with the poor and labouring classes, and take effective steps to protect and instruct them, to improve their condition, and to raise them in the social scale, giving them the status and dignity of a distinct class in

VINCENZO GIOBERTI
From an engraving

the social order." To show that union with Lombardy-Venetia had not been destroyed by the Austrian occupation, Gioberti had given a place in the ministry to a Venetian—Sebastiano Tecchio. And a few days later Parliament gave fresh proof of its patriotic sentiments by voting a monthly subsidy of six hundred thousand lire in aid of Venice, which continued to withstand the foreigner.

To get a more solid majority, Gioberti had dissolved the house and directed new elections. They were held under the influence of the most advanced elements, which managed to exclude some of their stoutest opponents from the House—among them Cavour. Meantime Gioberti was cherishing in his mind a bold but dangerous design. In view of the disorders that had commenced in Central Italy, he thought Piedmont should intervene to re-establish the grand-ducal and papal governments. For in this way not only would foreign intervention (otherwise inevitable) be avoided, but it would be possible afterwards to make use of the forces of that part of Italy in the war that must be renewed against Austria. This proposal, however, did not meet with the approval of Gioberti's colleagues in the ministry, and was opposed by Ratazzi in particular. Fearing that in such an expedition Piedmont would be taking up an attitude contrary to popular sentiment, they resisted the plan with energy, and Gioberti, who held firmly to his opinion, resigned on February 21, 1849.

He alone left the ministry of which he was the head. The most conspicuous personality that remained in the government was Rattazzi.

The dominant thought in the minds of all was the renewal of the war. The probabilities of victory were slight, for this time Piedmont would find herself alone; yet all Liberals felt that she must enter the struggle again in order to preserve her prestige in the national movement. And with the reopening of the war began that period of heroic folly which aroused the wonder of the whole world and formed the true baptism of blood for the Italian spirit of nationality.

VIII

1849: THE YEAR OF SACRIFICES AND OF MARTYRDOMS

E lo aspettava la brumal Novara
e a' tristi errori meta ultima Oporto. . . .

Sfaceasi; e nel crepuscolo dei sensi
tra le due vite al re davanti corse
una miranda vision: di Nizza
il marinaro

biondo che dal Gianicolo spronava
contro l'oltraggio gallico: d'intorno
splendeagli, fiamma di piropo al sole,
l'italo sangue.

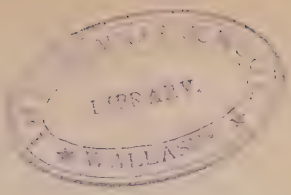
GIOSUÈ CARDUCCI (1836–1907): *Piemonte.*[1]

[1] Waited for him the wintry dark Novara
And, the last close of wanderings, sad Oporto! . . .

There was his passing. In the dusk of conscience,
Lying between two worlds a wondrous vision
Lighted the chamber where the King lay dying:
Nizza's fair sailor.

From Janus' hill against the outrage striving
By France inflicted, and around him glowing,
Ruby-like flashing in the fiery sunlight,
Italy's heart-blood.

(*Adapted from* MAUD HOLLAND'S *translation.*)



CHAPTER VIII

1849: THE YEAR OF SACRIFICES AND OF MARTYRDOMS

The defeat of Novara and Charles Albert's abdication—The Ten Days of Brescia—Sicily and Naples—Restoration of the Grand Duke to Florence—The Roman Republic: Mazzini and Garibaldi—The resistance of Venice: Daniel Manin.

IN the five months from March 20th, when hostilities were renewed between Piedmont and Austria, to August 22nd, when Venice capitulated, Italy performed miracles of valour and sacrifice, strength and heroism. The one sovereign who had remained faithful to the national cause was Charles Albert. When the most advanced elements prevailed, even he became an object of atrocious accusations; yet this fact had not induced him to change his course. A single desire possessed him —to renew the struggle with Austria. Since the conduct of the preceding campaign had aroused many and just criticisms, he made the sacrifice (for him extremely painful) of renouncing the supreme command. It was entrusted to the Polish general Chrzanowsky, who proved unequal to so difficult a situation. The Austrian marshal Radetzky determined to invade Piedmont and

give battle, suddenly and decisively, to the Piedmontese army, for if he won (as he was confident of doing) the insurrections in Lombardy-Venetia would soon die down. He crossed the Ticino, therefore, and on March 23d faced the Piedmontese under the walls of Novara. After a fierce conflict, which lasted till late in the evening, the Austrians were completely victorious. Time after time, that day, Charles Albert flung himself where the peril was greatest, for he wished to fall in battle. But it was in vain. Death spared him, that he might bear heavier griefs. He begged an armistice from the Austrians, but the conditions which they imposed seemed to him too severe, and believing that his son could obtain better terms he decided to abdicate. So that nobody might credit him with desire to mix in public affairs again, he departed that same night for Portugal. Thus the sovereign of Piedmont headed a new roll of Italian exiles; not of conspirators now, but of men vanquished in open fight for Italian nationality. He went to Oporto, and there he languished for the few remaining months of his life. Broken by sorrow, he died on July 28, 1849, aged only fifty-one.

At the reopening of the war Piedmont tried to induce Lombardy-Venetia to rise, and several towns, such as Como, Bergamo and Brescia, actually revolted. But, on learning of the Piedmontese disasters, they laid down their arms at once—except Brescia, which, misled by false news,

THE MONUMENT TO CARLO ALBERTO
By Marocchetti, Turin
From a photo by Brogi

remained a rebel and besieged the Austrian garrison of the castle. But Brescia itself was soon in turn besieged by other Austrian troops, commanded by General Haynau, the fierce warrior who boasted of the terror with which his mere name inspired the people. He invited the Brescians to surrender, by a proclamation that ended with these words: "Brescians, you know me; I keep my word." But the spirited and valiant population of Brescia resisted the Austrian arms for ten days —until the whole city had been put to fire and sword and filled with corpses. Those ten days of blood told the world again that Italy would have no more of the Austrian domination. It was restored, indeed, in the valley of the Po, but it no longer had any other guarantees than rifles and the gallows.

The same could be said of the Bourbon dominion, which Ferdinand II. was then, by force of arms, imposing afresh on Sicily. In April Catania resisted energetically, but it was sacked and burned by the victors. In May the royal troops fought hard for three days before they mastered Palermo. The island was subjected, but many of its best citizens were in exile, and others cherished the idea of recovering freedom.

In Naples the Parliament that reassembled on February 1, 1849, was definitely dissolved on March 13th. Not only was nothing more said about constitutional government, but numbers of the worthiest citizens who, trusting in the King's

word, had participated in the political life of the country, either were arrested as rebels or fled abroad. King Ferdinand entertained, in his castle at Gaeta, the Pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who rejoiced at the Austrian victories and saw the hour approaching when their governments would be restored.

In Tuscany the Moderate party, ill-content with Guerrazzi's government, and wishing to avoid any intervention on the part of the Austrian army, provoked an insurrection in Florence, got possession of power (April 12, 1849), and invited the Grand Duke Leopold to return. Nearly all Tuscany acquiesced in this change. Leghorn alone remained in the hands of the revolutionaries. The Grand Duke sent a general to take possession of the government, but at the same time invited a corps of Austrian troops to enter Tuscany, and thereby aroused general indignation. Yet Leghorn was the only town that offered armed opposition to the troops, and its resistance was stifled (May 11th). But the memory of such a restoration alienated the Tuscans from Leopold's government. And here too, although the régime was milder than at Naples, some Liberals, such as Guerrazzi, were thrown into prison, and others emigrated.

. . . . . .

At Rome the Constituent Assembly, which met on February 5, 1849, proclaimed a republic on the morning of the 9th. Pius IX. naturally protested

from Gaeta, and following the advice of Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli, who was thenceforth his mentor, invited the Catholic Powers to restore his government. This intervention seemed imminent after the disaster of Novara. In view of the gravity of the situation, the Roman Assembly decided to entrust executive power to a Triumvirate composed of Mazzini, Saffi and Armellini; for practical purposes Mazzini was sole dictator.

This was a solemn moment in the history of Italy, and Mazzini realized its importance:

> The Italians had almost lost their veneration for Rome; they began to speak of her as a tomb. . . . She needed restoring to her high place, so that the Italians might accustom themselves again to keep guard over her, as over the temple of their common nationality. There was need that all should understand the imperishable vitality which lay buried beneath the ruins of two epochs of the world's history. Unless help came to us from elsewhere, victory was utterly impossible. Doomed to perish, yet looking to the future, we had to utter our *morituri te salutant* —to Italy, from Rome.

Mazzini knew how to communicate his enthusiasm and his faith to all who came in contact with him, and the defence of 1849 encircles the name of Rome with a new halo of glory.

The Romans, and the Italian patriots who, fugitives from the other States, had hastened to Rome in those days, had to defend themselves

first against the armies of another republic—France. The President of the French Republic was Louis Napoleon, who thought to gain the sympathies of the Clericals by restoring the government of the Pope. But as the Liberal element was strongest in the Constituent Assembly (which still carried on its work), he adopted an equivocal policy. After the battle of Novara, French public opinion became alarmed at the predominance of Austria in Italy, and he obtained a vote for an expedition into Italy, which he said was intended to counterbalance the weight of Austria. The expedition set out from the ports of France under the command of General Oudinot. By ambiguous phrases and protests of friendship this leader induced the inhabitants of Civita Vecchia to refrain from opposing his disembarkation. On April 30th he arrived under the walls of Rome, confident of an easy entrance, since he believed the reactionary element would open the gates and the bands of volunteers be speedily thrown into confusion. What he found was a resistance so spirited that he was obliged to fall back towards Civita Vecchia. The glory of that day's fight belongs to Garibaldi, who with his volunteers had hurried to the defence of Rome, and who in this, his first important battle in Italy, fixed more firmly on his brow the laurels that he had already won in America.

In the French Assembly the Liberals naturally protested vehemently against the action of the

PALAZZO DEL CAMPIDOGLIO, MUNICIPAL BUILDING, ROME

From a photo by Alinari

government, and on May 7th the Assembly passed an order of the day inviting the government to ensure, without delay, that the expedition should make no further digressions from its appointed duty. The President, in order to give the impression that he was yielding to the Assembly's wish, and also to gain time in view of the approaching elections of the Legislative Assembly, sent to Rome, as ambassador, Ferdinand de Lesseps, the man who was destined to acquire immortal fame by the making of the Suez Canal. De Lesseps treated with the Triumvirs, arranged a suspension of hostilities, and tried to lay a basis for future agreement between the Romans and the Pope.

Meantime the troops of the King of Naples also had advanced against Rome; but they suffered heavy losses in two encounters with Garibaldi (at Palestrina on May 9th and at Velletri on May 19th), and Ferdinand II. abruptly renounced the enterprise and withdrew within the borders of his own kingdom.

Still less trouble was caused by the eight thousand soldiers whom Spain sent to fight for the Pope. Landing at Terracina, they contented themselves with the occupation of some districts in which they met with no opposition.

Austria acted with greater vigour. She would willingly have undertaken alone the task of completing the restoration of papal dominion. After occupying the territory of Ferrara, her troops

advanced on Bologna, which for seven days (May 8th to 15th) offered a magnificent resistance. Having taken Bologna, they marched towards Ancona, which also refused to surrender. It was besieged by land and sea, until, on July 19th, it was compelled to open its gates to the enemy.

But even before the fall of Ancona the struggle was renewed under the walls of Rome. In the French elections for the Legislative Assembly the reactionary party had carried the day. Louis Napoleon, enabled, therefore, to act more openly, sent reinforcements to Oudinot, and recalled De Lesseps from his mission. On June 1st Oudinot warned the Roman government that hostilities would be renewed. He added that in order to give the French residents in Rome an opportunity of leaving the city, if they so wished, he would abstain from attacking *la place* (*de guerre*) before Monday, June 4th. Trusting in this promise, Giuseppe Roselli of Ancona, who was in charge of the defence, neglected to keep careful guard at the villas Pamfili and Corsini, strong outposts beyond the Porta S. Pancrazio. On the morning of Sunday, June 3d, Oudinot seized these positions, as though they formed no part of the *place*. Standing high up, they dominate the Porta S. Pancrazio, and possess a decisive importance in the defence of the city. Garibaldi therefore attempted to retake them. All that day the struggle was obstinately waged. It remains memorable for the fine proofs of individual courage

that Garibaldi's followers gave. Time after time they retook the heights; yet they could not hold them. Towards evening, when the French fire seemed to be slackening, Garibaldi made a last attempt. It was headed by Masina and his forty lancers, and the disordered but still enthusiastic body of volunteers followed. Under a heavy fire Masina and his horsemen charged impetuously up the slope of the villa Corsini and took it; but once again the French reconquered it, and this time Masina fell dead. Goffredo Mameli, author of the famous hymn *Fratelli d'Italia*, sung on every battle-field during the war of independence, was seriously wounded that same evening. The young soldier-poet was carried to a hospital, where, a month later, he breathed his last.

In spite of the French victory, resistance was offered, all through that month of June, around the Porta S. Pancrazio and at the neighbouring house called *Il Vascello*, of which Garibaldi had entrusted the defence to Giacomo Medici. The French made entrenchments, planted batteries nearer and nearer the walls, and finally, on the night of June 21st, opened breaches and seized a part of the fortifications. Yet the defence lasted still for nine days, during which the storm of shells burst furiously upon *Il Vascello* until it was reduced to a heap of ruins. The final assault was delivered on the night of June 29th, and again heroic deeds were done. Among the slain must especially be mentioned Luciano Manara, the valiant leader of

the Lombard sharpshooters. Towards noon on July 1st a truce was arranged in order to bring in the dead and wounded. By this time the struggle was over, but the Triumvirs, in their proclamation of that day to the Romans, could with justice assert: "You have baptized with glory, and hallowed with your blood, the new life that is opening for Italy—the life of the people, which must and shall be." The Assembly resolved to cease from a defence that had become hopeless. But it made no peace; it simply desisted from the struggle, though it continued to hold its sittings.

Garibaldi, who in the midst of the Assembly had proposed to leave Rome and continue the war in the country, decided to carry out this project on his own account. "I offer neither pay, nor quarters, nor provisions," he said to whomsoever was willing to follow him; "I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles and death." Yet on the evening of July 2d fully four thousand armed men went out from Rome under Garibaldi's leadership to carry on the war; and with them went Garibaldi's courageous wife, Anita, who, although in delicate health, wished to share his perils.

Next day (July 3d) the French entered Rome and re-established the government of the Pope. But by her wonderful resistance Rome had acquired fresh titles to glory and to the reverence of the Italian nation, of whose new aspirations she was now able to become the centre.

GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI
Photo by Alfieri Lacroix

Garibaldi wished to repeat his American exploits, but, followed by the French and Spanish in Latium, and threatened by the Austrians in Tuscany and the Marches, he was constrained to enter the territory of the Republic of S. Marino, where he disbanded his little army. Nevertheless on the night of July 31st, with three hundred of his most devoted and ardent comrades, he evaded the Austrians, who were blockading the territory of the little republic, and set out for Cesenatico, intending to embark in the hope of reaching Venice and sharing in the defence of that city, which still held out against the Austrian arms. But the Austrian fleet sighted Garibaldi's vessels and started in pursuit. Eight were captured; five managed to come to land near Comacchio at the mouths of the Po. Garibaldi was on board one of the five. He went ashore with his beloved wife Anita in his arms. She was scarcely alive, and on the following day she died in a lonely hut in the neighbourhood. Garibaldi saw the impossibility of reaching Venice. He fled from place to place, pursued by the Austrians but sheltered by many a warm-hearted patriot; passing into Tuscany, at last, after thirty-seven days of wandering, he reached the Gulf of Follonica (called also the Gulf of Piombino), and there embarked for Liguria.

. . . . . .

The last resistance in the sacred name of Italy and nationality was offered by Venice and directed

by Daniel Manin, the one real statesman who had appeared amid the events of 1848. The city of Venice lies in a very unusual situation. It is built on many islets in the centre of a great lagoon, and is joined to the mainland only by the monumental railway bridge (see p. 76), more than three and a half kilometres in length. The difficulty of besieging it is therefore plain. Having already reconquered the rest of the Venetian territory, as well as Lombardy, the Austrians blockaded Venice in the summer of 1848. But the city held out for a whole year, giving sublime proofs of heroism and noble daring.

After the battle of Novara, Venice could hope no longer for help from without. Nevertheless the Assembly of representatives, meeting in the Hall of the Great Council on April 2, 1849, decreed unanimously: "Venice shall resist the Austrians at all costs." And to that end it invested the President, Manin, with full powers. The Austrians concentrated a strong force at Mestre, and prepared to attack Malghera Fort, on the shore of the lagoon. The fort suffered a terrible bombardment on May 4th, and next day the Marshal Radetzky sent an invitation to surrender. But Venice refused. The assault was therefore resumed. At the end of twenty days Malghera was little more than a mass of ruins. Even the few buildings that were still standing threatened to collapse. On the night of May 26th the fort was abandoned and its defenders withdrew across

the long bridge that unites the city and the mainland. Some of the arches were then destroyed, to hinder the Austrian advance, and the defence of the bridge was organized. While a determined resistance was being maintained, secret agreements were made with the insurgents of Hungary. But the situation became daily more hopeless, for provisions were running short, and the Austrians, from the shore of the lagoon, managed to reach the city with their shell-fire. The inhabitants were forced to abandon the wards that were most exposed to bombardment, and the consequent crowding in other quarters, and the bad quality of their provisions, led soon to an outbreak of disease. Yet the people hoped still, for they looked for the speedy arrival of Garibaldi; but the watchfulness of the Austrian fleet prevented his coming. The success of the Hungarians was trusted in; but, instead, Russia joined Austria against them and that rebellion was stifled. At last negotiations for capitulation were opened, and on August 22, 1849, the treaty was signed. Daniel Manin and many another patriot had to go into exile.

Italy seemed to be reverting to her former condition, as though nothing had happened. But two profound and decisive changes had come about in the nation. It was by force of arms alone that Austrian domination and the governments of Naples, Rome, Florence, Modena and Parma were now maintained. And a body of emigrants, comprising the most illustrious men of all those

regions, testified to the world the hatefulness of the restorations. In one state only—Piedmont —still flew that symbol of revolution, the tricoloured Italian banner.

IX

THE POLICY OF CONCENTRATION IN PIEDMONT (D'AZEGLIO-CAVOUR MINISTRY)

Pace, o defunti, ed aspettate. Il giglio
Dissipato dal nembo or si ripianta,
E, di fieri battesimi vermiglio,
Crescerà in quercia gloriosa e santa.
Sarà l'Italia il suo scoglio natio.
Gran cose il tempo e la fortuna ammanta.
Soffia sull' esso l'alito di Dio.

GIOVANNI PRATI (1815–1884): *Opere*, vol. v.[1]

[1] Peace, ye dead, have patience! The lily uprooted by the storm takes root again, and, red with cruel baptisms, shall grow into an oak, glorious and hallowed. Italy shall be its native soil. Time and fortune throw a mantle over much. The breath of God blows on the bones of the dead.

CHAPTER IX

THE POLICY OF CONCENTRATION IN PIEDMONT (D'AZEGLIO-CAVOUR MINISTRY)

The youth of Victor Emmanuel II.—Gloomy opening of the reign —Massimo D'Azeglio as Prime Minister—The peace with Austria, and the proclamation of Moncalieri—The Siccardi laws, and Cavour's first success as an orator—Exasperation and violence of the Clerical party—Cavour as Minister of Agriculture and Commerce—His predominance in the Ministry—Cavour as Minister of Finance—The *Re Galantuomo*— Gioberti's *Civil Regeneration of Italy*—The *connubio* of Cavour with Rattazzi—Cavour's exit from the D'Azeglio Ministry—He becomes Prime Minister.

FEW sovereigns have ascended the throne amid circumstances more gloomy than those which accompanied the opening of Victor Emmanuel's reign. He received the crown that his father had abandoned on the bloody field of Novara, and of necessity his first act as King was the accepting of the conditions imposed by the conqueror. And around him, he felt, was a people who viewed him with profound distrust.

He was then in the full flower of early manhood, for he had only just completed his twenty-ninth year. He was born at Turin in the Carignano palace (destined to be the seat of Parliament) on

March 14, 1820—the year of the first movements of the Italian Revival, when his father, excited by Carbonari friends, was already dreaming of a glorious future for himself and for Italy. But the hurricane of 1821 swept the weak Charles Albert into a series of mistakes. Constrained to leave Turin, he took refuge, together with his family, near the Court of his father-in-law, the Grand Duke of Tuscany. At Florence, one evening in September, 1822, the little Victor Emmanuel narrowly escaped death through the curtains of his cot taking fire. He lay asleep in the cot, and the only other person in the room was his nurse. With admirable devotion she rushed into the flames and rescued the infant prince. He was unharmed except for slight burns, but the nurse died a few days later, the victim of her self-devotion in the cause of duty. Victor Emmanuel was eleven years old when his father reached the throne. He early conceived a passion for military exercises and the chase. Jovial, frank, and of easy sociability, he loved to associate with soldiers, and to converse with country folk, better than to engage in the dull receptions and the tiresome observances of the Court. Even after his marriage, in 1842, with his cousin Maria Adelaide (daughter of the Archduke Rainer of Austria and of a sister of Charles Albert), he retained the habits of his bachelor days, and, although sincerely attached to his charming and virtuous wife, often abandoned himself to low amours. Charles Albert did not

PALAZZO CARIGNANO, TURIN. SEAT OF THE PIEDMONTESE PARLIAMENT
From a photo by Brogi

allow his sons the least share in affairs of State; but the outbreak of the war of 1848 at last gave the young prince an opportunity to prove himself a worthy heir of the traditions of valour that attached to his house. It is easy, therefore, to imagine how keenly he felt the humiliation of the conquered.

But Victor Emmanuel had not inherited his father's indecision. From the first day of his reign he saw his object clear before him and marched straight towards it. Impelled by necessity, he signed the hard terms of armistice which Radetzky imposed, allowing the Austrians to make a temporary occupation of a stretch of Piedmontese territory; but he would not let the Austrian marshal persuade him to re-establish absolute government in Piedmont. Animated by a noble sentiment of filial devotion, and guided by an exact perception of what the moment demanded, he resolved to preserve the Liberal institutions conferred by his father, and to hold high and firm that tricoloured banner which represented the agreement of the House of Savoy with the principles of the revolution.

Nevertheless this resolve, though well rooted in his mind, seemed to be unrecognized by the country, which, in grief at its disasters, gave itself up to idle imprecations. The young sovereign was misunderstood by his subjects. They judged him to be a swashbuckler of absolutist tendencies, who would certainly seize the first

favourable opportunity to abolish the Constitution. Amid that triumph of the Radical party which occurred almost throughout Italy in March, 1849, these ideas found favour, even in Piedmont; and in such circumstances many of those Radicals who had been hostile to Charles Albert now began to exalt him, declaring that with his abdication the national cause had been abandoned by all the sovereigns. Parliament itself became an interpreter of the general opinion; for when the new King came to take the oath of fidelity to the Constitution (March 29, 1849), it received him with a frigid silence that was eloquent of distrust. That same day a republican insurrection broke out at Genoa, and for several days the rebels were masters of the city.

Yet, as Massimo D'Azeglio justly remarked, adversity is a school which prostrates and unnerves the craven, but stimulates and braces the strong. Victor Emmanuel was strong, and the sorrows of those days had indeed a bracing influence upon him. At that very difficult juncture he had the good fortune and the discernment to choose, for the head of the ministry, a man whose very name was a sure guarantee of loyalty and patriotism—Massimo D'Azeglio (born in 1798).

D'Azeglio is one of the most attractive figures among the men who made Italy, a true example of chivalry without fear and without reproach. The descendant of a long and noble line of valiant warriors and illustrious citizens he maintained

THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN VICTOR EMMANUEL II. AND GENERAL RADETZKY

From the painting by Pietro Aldi in the Palazzo della Signoria, Siena

From a photo by Alinari

MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO
From a contemporary print

the high traditions of his family, and added lustre to them by intellectual achievement and spotless purity of character. From his youth up he had shown that the thoughtless, idle life of the wealthy was not for him. A lover of art, he studied painting, and in order to devote himself seriously to it he left the comforts of his home, heedless of the derision and reproaches of relatives and friends. He lived for a long time at Florence and Rome, supporting himself by the sale of his pictures. Like all the noble-hearted and high-minded men of his generation, he was filled with a growing desire to see his country free and great. In the pursuit of his art he expressed this aspiration by choosing subjects which would call to mind some of the famous men and glorious episodes of Italy's past. The same purpose moved him to take up the pen, and to introduce fine pages of Italian history into his novels—such as the heroic resistance of Florence in 1530, or the challenging of thirteen Frenchmen by thirteen Italians at Barletta in 1503. By nature disinclined towards conspiracy, he made no secret of his Liberal sentiments. When the war broke out, he took the field as a volunteer, and he was seriously wounded in the defence of Vicenza. Now, though with great reluctance, he accepted from Victor Emmanuel the position of first minister (May, 1849).

The first and gravest question was that of the relations with Austria. By this time, the renewal of the war seemed impossible in view of the con-

ditions of Italy. Hence it was necessary to convert the armistice into a treaty of peace. The negotiations were long and difficult. Piedmont desired to secure an amnesty for the citizens of Lombardy-Venetia who had shown themselves to be rebels against Austria; but Austria replied that this concerned the Emperor alone and was not a matter for treaty with Piedmont, though, in consequence of the insistence of the Piedmontese representatives, the Austrian government promised that the amnesty should be promulgated before the ratification of the treaty of peace. The treaty was signed at Milan on August 6, 1849, and by it Piedmont was bound to pay a war indemnity of seventy-five million francs.

With the opening of the new reign the Chamber had been dissolved, and on July 15, 1849, a general election took place in Piedmont for the third time.[1] The most advanced elements were uppermost again—to such a degree that the new Chamber elected as its President Lorenzo Pareto, who had been Charles Albert's minister, but had afterwards taken part in the revolution of Genoa. He had even been numbered among the twelve citizens who were to be excluded from the amnesty, and he owed his pardon solely to the personal intervention of Victor Emmanuel, who was unwilling to punish one of his father's ministers. The

[1] Camillo di Cavour entered the Chamber again at this election. From that time to his death he was, without a break, deputy of the first constituency of Turin.

hostility of the Chamber towards the Government, indicated by Pareto's election as President, disclosed itself more openly afterwards when the treaty of peace was discussed. In vain Cesare Balbo proposed "that the treaty of peace should be voted without any discussion and with the protest of silence." After a long debate, the majority of the Chamber approved, instead, a proposal to suspend the discussion of the treaty until a law had been passed defining the civic rights of the exiles from Lombardy-Venetia. This delay involved serious difficulties; it might even have led to a new war, and the ministry was unwilling to assume such a responsibility. On November 17th the Chamber was dissolved, and Massimo D'Azeglio advised the King in summoning another to appeal directly to the country, invoking the support of public opinion for the policy of the Government, and appealing to the judgment and affection of his people. The proclamation of Moncalieri, named after the place in which the King signed it, was certainly a step of great importance; for the ministry thereby drew the Crown into the arena of party strife, and put it in opposition to the Chamber. But it had a wholesome effect on the country, which returned a considerable majority of ministerial deputies; and on January 9, 1850, the treaty of peace with Austria was approved almost without discussion.

. . . . . .

Scarcely was this grave question settled, and the opposition of the Radicals overcome, when the Clerical danger rose into prominence. A reactionary spirit was gaining ground at that time not only in Italy but throughout Europe. Everywhere the Clerical party, re-emboldened, fought Liberal institutions with fierceness. The Piedmontese government proclaimed its Liberal tendency at once by presenting, through Siccardi, the Minister of Justice, a Bill to abolish the privilege (enjoyed by the ecclesiastics) of a special tribunal; to annul the right of asylum in churches and other sacred places; and to limit the number of obligatory festivals. It was the first step towards a complete restoration, to the State, of its rights of sovereignty. But, precisely because this scheme indicated the road along which the Government desired to move, it was resisted with extreme violence by the reactionary party, and, in the Chamber itself, found some opponents even among the members of the *Right*, who up to that time had supported the ministry. In that memorable debate, which lasted from the 5th to the 12th of March, 1850, Cavour spoke with marked effect in favour of the proposed laws. It was of urgent importance, he said, that the Crown's advisers should take steps to establish, on a sure basis, the political principle which they intended to defend; no other reform was better adapted to such an end. "So far from weakening authority, reforms that are carried out in good time strengthen it. So far from increasing the

force of the revolutionary spirit, they reduce it to impotence." And turning to the ministers, he cited, in conclusion, the example of England:

> Imitate freely the example of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Grey, and Sir Robert Peel, whom history will proclaim the foremost statesmen of our time. Advance far along the path of reforms, and fear not that they may be declared inopportune. Do not be afraid of diminishing the power of the constitutional monarchy which is entrusted to your hands, for, instead, you will increase it. By this measure you will enable that sovereignty to root itself so firmly in our country, that even if the tempest of revolution rages around us once more, it will be able not only to resist that tempest but also, gathering around itself all the living forces of Italy, to lead our nation on to the fulfilment of her high destinies.

These words, which expressed the fundamental concept of his policy, were received with warm and prolonged applause by the Chamber and by the gallery. It was Cavour's first great success in public speaking.

Opposition to the measure was even more spirited in the Senate than in the Chamber, but at length, on April 8, 1850, the Senate also approved it. An attempt was made to prevent the royal sanction, by indirectly influencing Victor Emmanuel's mind. But the King stood firm and sanctioned the laws. Forthwith the Clerical party

broke out into the greatest violences. The Papal Curia recalled the nuncio from Turin. The Archbishops of Turin and Cagliari invited their clergy to refuse obedience to the new laws. When proceedings were instituted against them, the irritation of the irreconcilable clergy passed all bounds. Just at that time Count Pietro di Santarosa (Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce) fell mortally ill. A devout Catholic, he asked for the sacraments of the Church, but the clergy insisted that he must first express penitence for concurring in the Siccardi laws, and retract his participation in them. It was a painful scene, in which the dying man was torn between fervent religious faith and the sense of duty and honour. Santarosa declined to subscribe the retractation put before him, and the priests inexorably refused him the last sacraments, though the abbé Ghiringhello, an intimate friend, confessed him. The news of such cruelty aroused a lively agitation against the clergy in Turin. Tumults arose on the occasion of Santarosa's funeral. They were directed especially against the Archbishop, since it was in obedience to his orders that the clergy had acted. At length the Court of Appeal condemned him to exile, and a little later the same sentence was passed upon the Archbishop of Cagliari, who also had violently opposed the new laws. A monument was afterwards erected in Turin, by public subscription, to commemorate the victory over the Clerical

faction which had been won by means of the Siccardi laws.

It was precisely these discussions which determined the attitudes of the parties in the Chamber and in the country. The extreme *Right* had declared its opposition to the Bill, and in general showed little inclination towards a reform policy. Accordingly a group of deputies, headed by Cavour, now detached themselves from these old comrades; in fact, Cavour soon asserted that still bolder reforms were necessary. In a weighty address, delivered on July 2, 1850, he examined the attacks by the *Left* upon the government, and explained the extenuating circumstances which entitled the ministry to indulgence. But he added that although, so far as concerned the past, he was disposed to agree to a Bill of indemnity, yet in the future he and many of his political friends would no longer be able to support the ministry unless it showed greater zeal and took more courageous resolutions—unless, in short, its work became more energetic and more reformative. This attitude naturally gave the ministerial majority the impression that Cavour was ambitious and undisciplined, and the opinion was formed in the political world of Turin that, in order to secure his support, it was necessary to invite him to join the ministry.

On the death of Santarosa (August 5, 1850), therefore, Cavour was at once named by many people as the inevitable successor. But Massimo

D'Azeglio delayed the appointment. When General Alfonso La Marmora, Minister of War and a faithful friend of Cavour, impressed upon him the necessity of quickly filling the vacancy, and hinted at Cavour, D'Azeglio showed reluctance. "In one month," he said, "this man will turn the whole ministry upside-down, and I don't want trouble." "Camillo," insisted La Marmora, "is a devil of a fine fellow, and among us he will calm down." D'Azeglio was induced to approach Cavour, and Cavour thereupon demanded that the Minister of Education, whom he thought too weak, should be supplanted. "It 's a bad beginning with your fine fellow, my dear Alfonso," was D'Azeglio's comment to La Marmora; but he consented to Cavour's demand in the end, and recommended the King to appoint him Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. Victor Emmanuel was an unusually good judge of men, and he remarked to the ministers who laid this proposal before him: "Can't you gentlemen see that this man will kick you all out!" Anyhow, although Cavour was none too welcome to him, his Majesty made the appointment (October 11, 1850).

. . . . . .

On assuming power, Cavour put aside his other interests (even retiring from the editorship of *Il Risorgimento*), and devoted his whole self to his new office.[1] The problems of agriculture and

[1] That same year (1850), on June 15th, his father died. He had lost his mother in April, 1846. Camillo never married. He

commerce were already those which had most exercised his mind. He had, therefore, ideas of his own with regard to them—and decidedly firm convictions. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the principle of Free Trade, and he believed that if Piedmont adopted it she would share largely in the industrial development that was then taking place over a great part of Europe. But he understood the difficulty of gaining Parliament's consent to a general reform of such importance, since the representatives of the various interests that would suffer by it would naturally form a coalition in order to fight it. So he tried to reach the same reform by an indirect way. He concluded commercial treaties with the separate Powers, on the basis of very low tariffs, and, as each of these treaties conferred some advantages on one or another branch of production, he thereby divided his opponents and easily obtained approval for his projects. Moreover, these treaties were of use to Piedmont in her international relations; for Cavour, with subtle skill, offered them to the

---

continued to live with his brother Gustavo (†1864), who had remained a widower since 1833, after having three children. Of these the eldest, Augusto, to whom Camillo was deeply attached, fell, a sub-lieutenant of 19, in the battle of Goito, May 30, 1848. His other son, Ainardo, who entered the diplomatic career, survived his uncle, but died when still a young man (1875) without leaving offspring. Hence the Cavours remained represented in the female line only—by the Marquis Gustavo's daughter Giuseppina (1831–1888), who was married to the Marquis Alfieri di Sostegno.

several States as benevolent concessions. In this way, he completed, within a few months, one of the most far-reaching of customs reforms, and started Piedmont along the road to commercial freedom.

During the discussions which centred around these projects, Cavour found opportunities of expounding many of his political views. Here, for example, are some sentences from a speech of April 14, 1851, in which he sums up very well the tendency of the time:

> Modern history, especially that of the last century, makes it clear that society is impelled inevitably along the path of progress. In the sphere of politics it tends so to modify existing institutions as to call an ever greater number of citizens to participation in political power. In economics it aims evidently at the improvement of the condition of the lower classes, and at a fairer division of the produce of land and capital.

Hitherto, the office of the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce had been considered a second-rate post. With Cavour it assumed an absolute pre-eminence over the others—perhaps because of the many bold schemes of reform with which Cavour kept the Chamber occupied; perhaps, too, because the new minister was courageous enough to speak also on subjects pertaining to other departments of government, and always set forth his personal views with great frankness. Sometimes, even without authority, he spoke directly in the name of the minis-

try, as though he were already its head; and D'Azeglio, who was not in very good health and loved a quiet life, refrained from protesting. In one of these discussions, Cavour proudly asserted that Piedmont had assumed a high place:

> Though we are a small people in strength and in our material resources, I believe that we are at this moment great in the sense that we represent (perhaps of all peoples most faithfully) the idea of progress and reasonable liberty—an idea that is destined to spread throughout all Europe.

Imbued with so lofty a patriotic sentiment, Cavour was unable to tolerate the weak financial policy of his colleague Nigra. By threats of resignation he forced Nigra to leave office, and then himself agreed to act also as Minister of Finance (April, 1851). The cost of the war of 1848–9, the indemnity paid to Austria, the improvements introduced into the public services, the construction of railways, the schools, the new needs created by the new order of things—all this mass of circumstances had involved an enormous increase of expenditure at a time when a succession of bad harvests was reducing the incomes of the citizens. Nevertheless, Piedmont's first need was that the revenue of the State should be made to balance expenditure in order to acquire credit. It was necessary, therefore, to impose fresh sacrifices upon the country, and Cavour, confident

of Piedmont's future, undertook this distasteful task without hesitation.

. . . . . .

Thus by the work of D'Azeglio and Cavour, Victor Emmanuel's régime not merely overcame the popular mistrust that had shown itself at the opening of the new reign, but daily acquired a greater ascendency in the country, which recognized with satisfaction that it had a strong government, carrying out a clear and constant policy. D'Azeglio made rectitude a rule of his government. In a speech to the Chamber, he declared that among the rights of the people there was one which nobody had ever spoken about but which he desired to point out—the right to a good example; the right to see themselves governed with sincerity and justice. With him, in fact, originated the sobriquet *Re Galantuomo* given to Victor Emmanuel. He had entirely gained the sympathy of the King, who was happy to be able, now and then, to pass the time pleasantly with so amiable and vivacious a Prime Minister. "There have been so few honourable kings in history," remarked D'Azeglio to him one day, "that it would be a fine thing to begin the series." "Have I the making of a *Re Galantuomo?*" Victor Emmanuel asked. "Your Majesty has sworn loyalty to the Constitution, and has thought of Italy, not merely of Piedmont. Let us preserve, as the basis of our actions, the principle that in this world a king,

just as much as the man in the street, should say what he means and keep to it." "It seems to me an easy task," said his Majesty. "Then we have the *Re Galantuomo*," observed D'Azeglio. The phrase got abroad; it caught the popular favour and served to strengthen the affectionate confidence which by this time was springing up between people and sovereign.

Precisely at that time, Vincenzo Gioberti, the great thinker, who after the events of 1849 had taken refuge in Paris, published his book on *The Civil Regeneration of Italy*. In this work, Gioberti, after pointing out the mistakes of the Italians in 1848–9, renounced the dream that he had set forth in *Il Primato*, and argued that to ensure her tranquillity Italy must rid herself of the temporal power of the Papacy and create a new Rome,

> greater and more magnificent than the Romes of the past, since it will be the sum and harmony of them all; born in Latium with the kingship, become Italian and Ultramontane with the republic and with the empire, Christian with the Gospel, cosmopolitan with the Papacy, it will be at once the spiritual and the temporal home of principles that progress will strengthen and futurity perpetuate.

And it belonged to Piedmont, he said, to assume the direction of the national movement—by reason of the old merit that she had won in a

patriotic war, courageously sustained through two campaigns, and of the new merit acquired by the sheltering of Italian fugitives, and by the Liberal policy which preserved the Constitution and showed signs of a desire to advance. Gioberti's *Civil Regeneration* was perhaps the only book that Victor Emmanuel read completely through. It helped materially to fortify the resolves which led him afterwards to fulfil the destinies of Italy at her capital, Rome. But for the present it was necessary to move with great prudence, for in all the rest of Europe reaction was triumphant.

. . . . . .

The famous *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, which made Louis Napoleon absolute master of the government of France, encouraged the reactionaries of every country to assert themselves more boldly. Even in Piedmont, that section of the *Right* which had already become perturbed by the Liberalism of the government, wished to profit by the occasion and drag the country along the path of reaction. Cavour was alarmed. During the revolutionary period he had fought the Democratic party, for it seemed the strongest and most dangerous. But now that arrogant reaction was coming uppermost, he stood for the defence of liberty. Yet, in so doing, he was only following his firmest convictions. The danger was now on the *Right*, and it was well indicated

by Cavour in a speech that he later on addressed to the Chamber:

When the wind blows in a certain direction it is highly dangerous to set out that way. It is dangerous to go down the slope towards which events are hurrying. The honourable deputy Menabrea, who is my master in mechanics,[1] knows that the motion of a falling body increases in a ratio of the square of the distance, and he is also not unaware that though the movement towards reaction may at first be very slow, it becomes swift with the lapse of time, and carries men far with a force too great to be resisted even by those who had meant to take only some scarcely perceptible steps in that direction.

Profoundly convinced that a reactionary policy would involve Piedmont in irreparable ruin, he decided to detach himself entirely from the most retrograde section of the *Right*, which likewise felt little enthusiasm for the Italian tendencies of the Piedmontese government, and to approach instead that group of Democrats who, under Urbano Rattazzi's leadership, had been dissociating themselves from the most inflammatory elements of the *Left* in order to pursue a more temperate course. Like Cavour, they also wished to develop the Liberal institutions of Piedmont, and to proclaim with ever-increasing distinctness her

[1] The Count Menabrea, a deputy attached to the extreme *Right*, was a colonel of engineers.

Italian mission, so that they were separated from Cavour merely by a question of tactics and method, whereas between him and the extreme *Right* there was a fundamental difference which events were still further to emphasize.

Cavour thought that by agreement between the two *Centres*, a strong majority might be formed, capable of resisting the two extreme sections of the Chamber, and of carrying out the great ideas that he cherished. But he did not believe that his ministerial colleagues would dare to face the situation and negotiate an understanding with the *Left Centre*. He therefore conferred in secret with Rattazzi, hoping that D'Azeglio and the other ministers would bow to accomplished facts. The agreement began to show itself in the debates of the Chamber during February, 1852. It led the deputy Di Revel (of the extreme *Right*) to say that Cavour had simultaneously divorced himself from one section of the Chamber and contracted a marriage (*connubio*) with the other; and this parliamentary episode was henceforward known as the *connubio*. On that occasion, Cavour declared that the ministry had made no change of policy:

> It still stands on the ground on which it has based its policy—the ground of liberty, prudence, moderation, and judicious progress. If some honourable members of this Chamber have met it on that ground, it has stretched out its hand to them, and it will be

happy to form a genuine alliance with them; but this will never be done at the expense of the principles of which it has made itself the interpreter for nearly three years. It is not true, as the deputy Menabrea said, that the ministry has turned its prow towards a new shore. It has made no manœuvre of the kind; but it wished to go forward, not back.

At first the *connubio* excited no very great opposition on the part of D'Azeglio, who himself was alive to the dangers of reaction; but he and the other ministers were chagrined by the unceremonious fashion in which Cavour treated them. In May of that year, when Cavour, without the consent of his colleagues, supported the nomination of Rattazzi as President of the Chamber, the discord within the ministry resulted in a crisis.

The King entrusted Massimo D'Azeglio with the formation of a new ministry, and in the reconstruction Cavour and his friend Farini were excluded. But the new ministry was not strong enough to stand for long. In October of the same year, D'Azeglio himself advised the King to call the Count di Cavour to the head of the government. Thus was constituted, on November 4, 1852, that ministry which, based precisely on the *connubio*, was able during its long existence to carry out the great Italian policy of Piedmont.

Massimo D'Azeglio had the artist's tempera-

ment. He treated politics sometimes with the indolence of the dilettante, never with the passionate impetuosity of Camillo Cavour. When he ceded power to his "inhuman rival" (they facetiously addressed each other so), D'Azeglio wrote to a friend: "I leave my guardianship to another—to a man of diabolic activity, powerful in body and mind; to him it is something of a pleasure." Cavour, in fact, loved power—though not for the small satisfactions that pertain to it, but because it alone could enable him to carry out the designs that filled his mind. He was convinced that Piedmont contained the elements of the future regeneration of Italy; vigorous of intellect and consciously ambitious, he felt that he was able to lead his country on the path towards her noble destinies. Gioberti had formed the same estimate of him, for in his *Civil Regeneration of Italy* he had written of Cavour:

> That spirit, that vigour, that activity carry me away; and I admire even the magnanimous mistake of treating a province as though it were the nation, if I compare it with the futility of those who regard the nation as a province. Hence I consider him to be one of the men best fitted, by his breadth of mind, to co-operate with the Prince in the work of which I speak.

With Cavour's premiership, therefore, a new phase, bolder and more vigorous, began in Pied-

CAMILLO CAVOUR
From a contemporary print, 1859

montese politics. His mathematical mind had calculated all the difficulties of the problem; and, full of strength, vitality, ambition and intellectual force, he set himself with energy to solve it.

X

REACTION IN THE OTHER STATES OF ITALY, AND MAZZINI'S PROPAGANDA

Salite alle rocche, spandetevi al piano,
Dal Garda all' Isonzo, dall' Adda al Verbano;
Nei dolci presidii tornate a regnar.

Ma, lungo i confini, nel cor delle ville,
Potrete poi sempre le fulve pupille,
Nell' ora del sonno, securi chinar?

Badate; un iroso nasconde ogni tetto,
Da ogni angolo arcano balena un moschetto.
Compressi gli sdegni, ma spenti non son.

La squilla lombarda v' ha messo una volta
Nel cor lo spavento. Nè tutta è sepolta
La stirpe, che ha desto quel lugubre suon.

GIOVANNI PRATI (1815–1884): *Opere*, vol. v.[1]

[1] Go up to the forts, pour yourselves over the plain, from the Garda to the Isonzo, from the Adda to the Verbano. In the pleasant cities return to rule. But along the borders, in the heart of the country, will you ever again be able safely to let your gleaming eyes close in slumber? Beware; every roof shelters a wrathful man, a musket gleams from every secret corner. Anger has been repressed, but it is not spent. Once the Lombard trumpet-call struck fear into your hearts; nor is the race all passed away which woke that fateful sound.

CHAPTER X

REACTION IN THE OTHER STATES OF ITALY, AND MAZZINI'S PROPAGANDA

The Neapolitan trials and Gladstone's letters—The Papacy as the centre of the reaction: Cardinal Antonelli—Brigandage in the States of the Church—Restoration of the Grand Duke in Tuscany—Condition of Modena—Villainies of Charles III. of Parma; his assassination—Hostility of Lombardy-Venetia to the foreign domination; the Mazzinist conspiracies—The Mantuan trials and the Milanese movement of February 6, 1853—Mazzini loses prestige.

DURING the years 1849–52, in which Piedmont was devoting herself to a prudent policy of concentration after the disasters that she had suffered, the fiercest of reactions was raging in the rest of Italy.

So far from summoning again the Parliament which had been dissolved on March 13, 1849, Ferdinand II. of Naples struck out the Chamber's expenses from the Budget, had the adjective "Constitutional" erased from the title of the government's journal, and proceeded to avenge himself for his past fears on those who had imposed that government for a time. Arrests were forthwith made of such of the most eminent participants

in the events of 1848 as had not fled. Among many political trials the most important was that of the society of *Italian Unity*. It dragged on for months, and ended on January 31, 1851, with sentences of imprisonment on some of the most cultured and virtuous men in the kingdom—Luigi Settembrini, Carlo Poerio, Nicola Nisco and others. Professor Settembrini had really been condemned to death, but the penalty was commuted to one of life imprisonment. A few hours before the sentence was read to him, he wrote to his wife the following words, which reveal to us the nobility of his soul:

I desire, beloved but unfortunate companion of my life, to write to you at this moment when for sixteen hours the judges have been deciding my fate. If I am condemned to die, I shall be unable to see you or my dearest children any more. Now that I am calmly prepared for everything, I can devote my thoughts to you for a little. I am serene, my Gigia, and ready for whatever may befall. . . . If I am sentenced to death, I can promise you by our love and by the affection of our children, that your Luigi will not be untrue to himself. I shall die in the assurance that my blood will be fruitful of good to my country. I shall die with the calm courage of the martyrs. And my last words shall be to my country, my Gigia, my Raffaello, and my Giulia. To you and to our beloved children it shall not be a reproach that I perish on the gallows. Some day you will be honoured for it. I know that you will be crushed with grief; but keep

up your heart, my Gigia, and take care of your life for the sake of our dear children. Tell them that my spirit will be ever with you all, that I shall see you, and hear you, and continue to love you as I have loved you and as I love you in this dread hour. . . . Tell them to remember those words that I spoke from the dock on the day of my defence. Tell them that I, blessing them and kissing them a thousand times, leave them three precepts: to acknowledge and worship God; to love work; to love their country above all things else. . . .

Carlo Poerio was the most illustrious of these convicted men; he had held office in the ministry during the brief period of constitutional government. He was given to understand that, if he asked for mercy, the King would grant it; and he was reminded of his aged mother, who was now solitary, since her other son, Alessandro, had died in the defence of Venice. But Poerio stood firm. "The King ought to ask my pardon, not I the King's," he answered. "For he has destroyed the Constitution that he swore to uphold; he has oppressed my fellow-citizens. And I, who prefer to be the oppressed rather than the oppressor, will never stoop to do what I consider an unbecoming act."

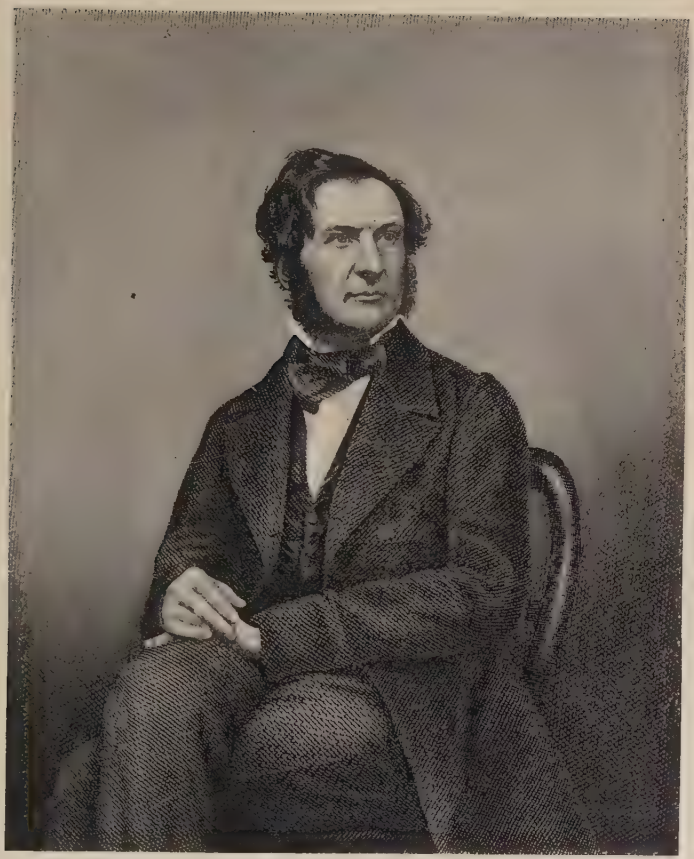
William Gladstone, the famous English statesman, was in Naples at the time. He attended the trial, and visited the prisons in which these patriots were confined. Indignant at such tyranny, he published, on July 11, 1851, after his

return to England, a letter, addressed to Aberdeen, then head of the English ministry, in which he denounced the conduct of the Bourbon government as "an outrage upon religion, upon civilization, upon humanity and upon decency." He was speaking not of some isolated instance of excessive severity, but of

incessant, systematic, deliberate violation of the law by the power appointed to watch over and maintain it. . . . The government is in bitter and cruel, as well as utterly illegal, hostility to whatever in the nation really lives and moves and forms the main-spring of practical progress and improvement. . . . The effect of all this is a total inversion of all moral and social ideas. Law, instead of being respected, is odious. Force, and not affection, is the foundation of government. . . . The governing power, which teaches of itself that it is the image of God upon earth, is clothed, in the view of the overwhelming majority of the thinking public, with all the vices for its attributes. I have seen and heard the strong and too true expression used: "This is the negation of God erected into a system of government."

As to the number of political prisoners, Gladstone wrote: "I do believe that twenty thousand is no unreasonable estimate." And he continued:

I do not scruple to assert . . . that when every effort has been used to concoct a charge, if possible, out of the perversion and partial production of real evidence, this often fails: and then the resort is to perjury and to



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE
From the engraving by D. J. Pound
After the photo by Mayall

forgery. The miserable creatures to be found in most communities, but especially in those where the government is the great agent of corruption upon the people, the wretches who are ready to sell the liberty and life of fellow-subjects for gold, and to throw their own souls into the bargain, are deliberately employed by executive power, to depose according to their inventions against the man whom it is thought desirable to ruin. . . . But surely, you will say, the prisoner will be able to rebut that, if false, by counter-evidence. Alas! he may have counter-evidence mountains high, but *he is not allowed to bring it.*

Referring to Carlo Poerio, Gladstone wrote:

I must say, after a pretty full examination of his case, that the condemnation of such a man for treason is a proceeding just as much conformable to the laws of truth, justice, decency . . . as would be a like condemnation in this country of any of our best known public men, Lord John Russell, or Lord Lansdowne, or Sir James Graham, or yourself

Lastly he described the treatment of Poerio and his companions after condemnation. Each of the sentenced political prisoners was chained to one of the most degraded criminals in the gaols, and for no purpose were the chains unfastened, day or night; "and the meaning of these last words must be well considered; they are to be taken strictly."

Another important political trial was the one that arose out of the events of May 15, 1848.

It lasted till October 8, 1852. Fortunately many of the accused were in safety outside the kingdom, but some were arrested. Seven of them, including Silvio Spaventa, the illustrious thinker, were condemned to death, and the extreme penalty was not remitted till the moment of execution. Trials and condemnations went on in the provinces also, and from every part of the kingdom bands of political prisoners were sent to the gaols of Procida, Nisida and Ischia.

In Sicily, General Filangieri, whom the King had appointed as his lieutenant in the island, strongly suppressed all opposition, and then proposed to reconcile the Sicilians to the Bourbon Court and to lift the country out of its wretched economic conditions. But, thwarted by the ministers at Naples and by the King himself, he was unable to achieve much, and in the end he retired; so that there also the stoutest prop of the Bourbon government was found to be the captain of gendarmes, Salvatore Maniscalco.

. . . . . .

Ferdinand II., in his fierce struggle with Liberalism, felt strong in the support of Pius IX., who during his stay in Neapolitan territory had completely abandoned the Liberal aspirations of his early pontificate. The Pope allowed himself, now, to be directed entirely by his Secretary of State, Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli, the man who had known how to induce four Catholic Powers to intervene in opposition to the Roman republic.

The Neapolitans had been obliged to retreat before Garibaldi's men; the Spaniards, after having been maintained for some time to no purpose, went away in February, 1850; but the French were still at Rome, and the Austrians in Romagna.

The French, after their occupation of Rome, had allowed everybody to leave the city who had reason to fear the Pope's vengeance. Pius IX. still stayed at Gaeta, but he sent three of his most reactionary Cardinals to restore the old régime. They began a series of political trials, and some of the Liberals who had remained in their native land were subjected to persecution. The President of the French Republic, Louis Napoleon, unwilling to appear as an accomplice of such a reaction and such tyranny, thought fit to advise the Papal Government (by means of a letter addressed to his aide-de-camp, Colonel Ney, whom he had sent to Rome) on certain essential features of the new policy which the Pope would do well to adopt. The letter was made public through the press. It recommended a general amnesty, a lay administration, the introduction of the Napoleonic code, and a Liberal government; but its only effect was to alienate the Pope from its author. Pius IX., however, realized that he ought to make some concessions before his return. From Portici (whither he had at length removed) he sent a decree which by implication annulled the constitutional decrees, but established a

Council of State for finance, and provincial and communal Councils—the concessions that he had already made in 1847. As to the amnesty, the exceptions were so many and of such a character as to make it really illusory. Finally, in April, 1850, Pius IX. decided to return to Rome, and he took up his residence in the Vatican. He no longer showed much interest in affairs of State, but left them to Antonelli, who managed, amid his diplomatic and financial business, to look after his own material interests and those of his family also, and succeeded in retaining office until his death in 1876.

Meantime, brigandage went on desolating whole provinces. The band of brigands led by Stefano Pelloni (*Il Passatore*) became especially notorious. Memorable among its many audacities was its appearance on the stage of the theatre at Forlimpopoli in 1851; with firearms levelled at the audience it made them give up all the contents of their pockets—even the keys of the houses of the wealthiest, so that it might go and plunder them unhindered. A month later, *Il Passatore* was killed in a fight with the public forces, but even after his death bands of brigands continued to scour the country districts of the Papal States.

The position was better in Tuscany. The restoration of the Grand-ducal government there had been brought about partly by the efforts of the Moderate party, which hoped in that way to save representative government, and in part by

the intervention of the Austrian troops, which reduced Leghorn and remained in the Grand Duchy. Hence Leopold II. was in an embarrassing situation between two rival influences; and the prevailing uncertainty was well represented by the President of the Ministry, Giovanni Baldasseroni, who asserted that Tuscany, on account of her central position in the peninsula and her insignificance, was unable to follow a policy of her own, different from that of the rest of Italy. And since the Constitution still existed in Piedmont, but had been suppressed in the other States, an intermediate decision was taken—after long hesitation. On September 21, 1850, the Grand Duke announced that political circumstances prevented him just then from giving representative government a new trial, and that "so long as it was impossible to call the Legislative Assembly together, every power would be exercised by the Prince himself, the Council of State being consulted when it seemed desirable, and the maxims of the Constitution being observed so far as might be." When, after the publication of this decree, Ubaldino Peruzzi, Gonfalonier of Florence, induced the municipal council to petition the Grand Duke to summon Parliament again, the government deposed him from office. Liberty of the press was restricted. And at last, when reaction appeared to be decisively triumphant everywhere, the decree of May 6, 1852 abolished the Statute of 1848. Meantime, Guerrazzi and his associates

in the events of 1848–9 were put on their trial. Not until July, 1853, did the proceedings end. Guerrazzi was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment—commuted afterwards by the Grand Duke to perpetual banishment from Tuscany.

In the Duchy of Modena and Reggio, Francis V. repeated his father's hatred of the Liberals and his father's insistence on the absoluteness of his power. But he acted with less cruelty. At Parma, on the contrary, the young Charles III. (successor to his father, Charles Louis of Bourbon, who abdicated in 1849) had introduced the most infamous system of government imaginable. He was a true example of the petty mediæval tyrant—profligate, cruel, ignorant, and villainous. Under his rule, the lash became the principal institution of the State, and he himself used to go through the streets with a riding-whip in his hand and strike everybody who neglected to bow to him. There was no longer any security of person or property, since every whim of the Duke's became law. In that little State more than three hundred persons were flogged within four years. It may be imagined how great was the hatred of this miserable princelet. On March 26, 1854, in the streets of the city and by full light of day, Charles III. was assassinated. It was an act of personal vengeance. He was succeeded on the throne by his son Robert, who was still a child, and whose mother acted as regent. The government became

more humane, but its policy was still retrograde and Austrian.

. . . . . .

Lombardy-Venetia lived under the military rule of Marshal Radetzky, whose favour with the Emperor, gained during the last war, enabled him to act the part of a dictator. According to the agreement made with the Piedmontese plenipotentiaries during the negotiations for peace, an amnesty was published on August 12, 1849. It said that even those who had fled might return in peace to their homes, provided they did so before September—except eighty-six individuals named, who "by reason of their unjustifiable persistence in revolutionary plots, and their subversive tendencies, could not for the present be tolerated in the imperial and royal dominions." But little reliance could be placed in the decree, as an incident showed during that same month of August. On the Emperor's birthday, a woman of ill repute, an associate of the Austrian officers, decorated her windows with the Austrian colours. The inhabitants gathered round and began to hiss, with the result that some were arrested and immediately sentenced. Among the punished were two young women, who were flogged for having laughed during the disturbance. And as if such an infamous proceeding were not enough, Radetzky demanded of the municipality payment for the canes that were used, and for the vinegar and ice with which the sores of the flogged were

treated. Not only were patriots subjected to corporal punishment, but their property was plundered. The reaction, in short, fell upon the country with all the weight of military arbitrariness. The population adopted an attitude of silent but determined opposition to the foreign domination; the Austrian officials and soldiers were ostracized. Radetzky himself frankly admitted it in a letter, dated November 4, 1849, to his daughter Federica:

> The country has never loved us Germans—and never will. But it realizes that recourse to force is useless, and so it is submissive. We are avenged, and that is enough.

Amid this hostility to the Austrians, two different developments began to show themselves. The rich put their faith in the Liberal monarchy of Piedmont. But the policy of Piedmont still seemed too timid to arouse the enthusiasm of the majority; and by far the greater number of people preferred the republican idea that Mazzini was preaching.

Mazzini had taken refuge in Switzerland after the fall of the Roman republic, and there he founded a society for the publication of political writings of a patriotic character. He went afterwards to England, where he formed a central committee to make preparations for the Italian people's war. It was in constant communication

with the sub-committees established in the various provinces of Lombardy-Venetia. In order to raise the necessary funds, he floated the Italian National Loan. The bonds were readily taken up, notwithstanding the grave peril to which their holders were exposed. The government, which knew that it was detested, made many arrests, and savage sentences followed. Antonio Sciesa, a workman, was condemned to death for posting a revolutionary proclamation at the street corners. On the way to execution he was offered pardon if he would say who had given him the manifesto. "I would rather be shot," he answered calmly: and so he went to his death (August 2, 1851).

In that year the Emperor Francis Joseph, hoping that his presence would arouse some feeling of loyalty in the Italian people, went to Venice and Milan, but hostile silence met him everywhere. At Como, the municipal council refused to vote any money for festivities in his honour. It was dissolved. A few days later a citizen of Como, Luigi Dottesio, who had largely helped to spread in Italy the historical and political publications of Capolago's Helvetian press, was hanged at Venice.

The most active of the revolutionary committees was the one at Mantua—headed by Enrico Tazzoli, a priest of lofty mind and generous nature. Its ranks were swelling every day; they spread, in fact, through a great part of Lombardy-Venetia. On October 29, 1851, the police arrested at Mantua

one of the members, the priest Giuseppe Grioli, who was accused of having tried to induce a Hungarian soldier to desert. Executed a few days later, he, too, died without compromising his associates. The police, however, pursued their investigations, and little by little they laid bare the whole conspiracy. Within a short time, more than two hundred patriots were in the Lombardo-Venetian prisons. Then was instituted that dark trial at Mantua in which the Austrian judges rivalled the Bourbon in perfidy and cruelty, and the accused Lombardo-Venetians equalled the Neapolitans in the nobleness of their indomitable courage. On December 7, 1852, the executions began on the esplanade of the fortress of Belfiore. The procession of the condemned passed before the house of one of them—Carlo Poma, a distinguished doctor, beloved by all the city. He heard the agonized cry of his mother, and stifling his sobs he bowed his head on the shoulder of his companion Tazzoli. The first to be hanged was Giovanni Zambelli, a young Venetian painter, who a few days before, greeting his father for the last time, had said to him: "I hope that my sacrifice, and that of my associates, will be of service to my country. For, if the blood of the martyrs of religion was the seed of Christians, our blood, shed for our native land, will be the seed of good patriots." He was followed by Angelo Scarsellini, also a Venetian, warm-hearted and daring, who had even conceived the idea of taking the Emperor

prisoner on one of his excursions at Venice. As he went up the steps of the scaffold, he repeated the lines that are put into the mouth of the Doge in the Opera *Marin Faliero:*

Il palco è a noi trionfo,
Ove ascendiam ridenti;

Ma il sangue dei valenti
Perduto non sarà.[1]

A Venetian, too, was the third victim, Bernardo di Canal. Just before going to his death he wrote to his mother:

Bear up, mother! Live to weep for me—but with resignation, not despair. Good-bye, my beloved mother, good-bye! I do not tell you to forget me; you could not, nor would I wish it. But think of me as one whom you will some day see again. Courage and patience! Good-bye! My last thought shall be of you; for you are the most fervent kisses of your affectionate son Bernardo.

Tazzoli had thrown his cloak over Poma's head, so that he should not see the sufferings of the others. The saintly priest, who had already suffered the pain of degradation from Holy Orders, mounted the scaffold with the serenity of the early Christian Martyrs. The last to die that day was Carlo Poma.

[1] To us the scaffold is a triumph; we ascend it with a smile
The blood of brave men is not spilled in vain.

The arrest of many of the conspirators, and the flight of others, had thrown the preparations for the new Lombardo-Venetian revolution into confusion. Yet at Milan a group of daring inhabitants made ready for the struggle, under the illusion that they could repeat the miracle of the *Five Days*. Mazzini, who was always hoping to instigate a general rising, and had come to Lugano in order to watch events from a closer standpoint, was easily persuaded to organize the attempt. On the evening of Sunday, February 6, 1853, some troops of insurgents threw themselves upon certain guard-rooms and massacred a number of sentinels —themselves unhappy victims of the same tyranny which had led them from Austria into Italy to oppress another nation. But the movement assumed no great proportions. Many even of the stoutest patriots, understanding the impossibility of success, had discountenanced it. Within a few hours the military dispersed the two hundred who had risen in arms; many were arrested; the Austrian government, applying its usual remedy, hanged sixteen of them two days later, and orders were given to proceed with greater severity in the Mantuan trials. At Belfiore, on March 3d, were hanged the Count Carlo Montanari, a highly esteemed engineer of Verona; the priest Bartolomeo Grazioli, who was loved as a father by his parishioners of Revere; and Tito Speri, a true hero, who had been the soul of the defence of Brescia during the *Ten Days* of 1849. A few days later

Pietro Frattini, who had distinguished himself among the Garibaldians in the defence of Rome, ascended the scaffold. Many others were sent to prison—among them, Giuseppe Finzi, Alberto Cavalletto, and Luigi Pastro. Every social class was represented among those condemned at Mantua, and this great trial served to show the civilized world that all Lombardy-Venetia was united in opposition to the foreign domination.

In spite of the unfortunate issue of the Milanese rising, Joseph Mazzini, who, living abroad, easily deceived himself as to the real state of things, continued to organize revolutionary movements. It was at his instigation that Lieutenant-Colonel Pietro Fortunato Calvi undertook to raise the Cadore district of Venetia. Calvi had won glory by his heroic defence of that region against the Austrians in 1848, and he now relied upon the prestige which he then acquired among its inhabitants. But he was arrested by the Austrians on September 7, 1853, while attempting to cross the Trentino on his way to the Cadore from Switzerland. He was led prisoner to Mantua, and in 1855 was hanged. Thus did Austria, undaunted, follow out her system of repressing with violence the patriotic aspirations of the Italians.

But, in the course of time, the continuous incitement of insurrections that were visionary rather than practicable, and the wasting of so many valuable lives, alienated many people from Mazzini's ideas. And in particular the fruitless attempt at

Milan on February 6, 1853, estranged the most thoughtful section of his old followers—especially as just at that time the Italian policy of Piedmont was asserted with greater boldness.

XI

CAVOUR'S BEGINNINGS AS PRIME MINISTER

Tutti siam di un sol paese,
Solo un sangue in noi traspar,
A ogni tromba piemontese
Mandi un' eco e l'Alpe e il mar.

GIOVANNI PRATI (1815–1884): *Inno per l' esercito piemontese.*[1]

[1] We are all the sons of one country; the same blood runs in all our veins. Let the Alps and the sea echo to the sound of every Piedmontese trumpet.—*Hymn for the Piedmontese Army.*

CHAPTER XI

CAVOUR'S BEGINNINGS AS PRIME MINISTER

The mission of Piedmont—Its moral progress under the Cavour Ministry—Its assertion of Italian nationality; the memorandum of 1853—Alliance with the Western Powers; discussions in the Chamber—Suppression of the religious corporations; Massimo D'Azeglio's letter—Victory of the Piedmontese at the Tchernaja—Victor Emmanuel II. goes to Paris and London—Daniel Manin and his propaganda in favour of Piedmont—Garibaldi at Caprera.

IT was the curious fortune of Italy that all her provinces experienced—one might almost say in turn—a period of splendour. Only Piedmont had long remained behind in this exalted rivalry, occupied exclusively with the exercise of arms; but amid the hard experiences of military life the Piedmontese people, and the Savoy dynasty that for centuries had ruled them, acquired valuable qualities of character—strength of mind, coupled with calmness; firmness of purpose, united to profound devotion to the idea of duty. When afterwards, in the 18th century, to these high moral gifts was added that intellectual force of which Piedmont had so far shown but little, the small people at the north-western extremity

of Italy stepped at once into the front rank of the nation's new hopes. Among a weak, nerveless, unstable society went forth at that time, from Piedmont, the powerful voice of Vittorio Alfieri, recalling the men of Italy to the thought of their country's former greatness and the need of a speedy revival. It almost seemed that even then Piedmont was proclaiming, by the mouth of her famous poet, the mission to which she was destined.

Hard upon the great poet followed the great historian who, continuing Guicciardini's work, diffused more and more widely the conception of Italian nationality. And side by side with Botta, and after him, came a brilliant company of elect spirits who, born in the Napoleonic period, readily caught the new Liberal and Italian aspirations, but who, faithful to the orderly traditions of their country, sought to link the future with the past, and urged their monarchy to assume the direction of the national movement. As if to facilitate the execution of this design, it happened in 1831, that the elder branch of the reigning house, which had failed to understand the new times, became extinct and was succeeded by a new branch, which grafted itself on the old trunk, in the person of that Charles Emmanuel who, first among the princes of Savoy, had dared to raise, amid the cowardice of the 17th century, the cry of Italian independence. Nevertheless, the first monarch of the new line, Charles Albert, showed some want of resoluteness, for he wavered

between the new aspirations and a number of compromises with the old régime. But he was succeeded, on the gloomy evening of the battle of Novara, by an energetic prince who had at once a clear vision of his own and Piedmont's mission, and a strong desire to carry it out. Thus Piedmont was able to give to the Italian cause a people well tempered by experience, active, tenacious, discreet in promise and firm in fulfilment; a brave and disciplined army; a glorious dynasty, confident of Italy's future. And the culmination of its fortune was the capacity to provide also the great minister who knew how to realize the dream of the patriots.

The fundamental problem was this: How was a State which numbered five million inhabitants, and which the defeat of Novara had left with its army broken, its finances exhausted, and an absolute lack of allies—how was such a State to conquer Austria, an Empire of thirty-eight million people? This was the fundamental problem, for victory over Austria would determine the solution of all the other phases of the Italian question.

The illusion of 1848, that Italy could do it for herself, had gone. To attain the great end that men dreamed of, it was necessary not only to keep alive the moral force of Italian patriotism, but to secure also the material strength of an ally. And therefore Piedmont's most urgent need was a credit, a prestige, equal to her lofty ambitions.

Hence the first phase of Cavour's political work

had for its purpose the moral progress of Piedmont; Piedmont must become a model of civil and economic advance—must show to Europe the aptitude of Italians for free self-government, and attract to herself the sympathy of the patriots of the peninsula. It was a policy of wide range, for it embraced at the same time internal reform, economic interests, religious affairs, diplomacy—in fact, all the departments of public life.

And first, in order to obtain the means of supporting the splendid policy of the future, a complete financial reorganization was necessary. Cavour, therefore, when in November, 1852, he assumed the Presidency of the Council, took upon himself the Ministry of Finance. Boldly defying unpopularity, he increased the taxes; yet it was in 1853 that Piedmont passed through a very grave crisis, caused by the failure of the corn, silk, and vine harvests. Cavour's political opponents tried to nullify his efforts, and by defamation and calumny the most violent of them sought to represent him to the public as a starver of the people. On October 18, 1853, Cavour's palace was surrounded by a tumultuous crowd which cursed and threatened him. But these excesses aroused the indignation of the reasonable section of the country; and at the new general election, in December, 1853, it showed its readiness to await in confidence the results of Cavour's work. On the other hand, the government set itself to promote energetically all honest activity and useful

A CARICATURE OF CAVOUR
From a contemporary print

initiative; and, by large expenditure on public works, it developed Piedmont's resources. Of special importance, even by reason of the overcoming of technical difficulties in the cutting of the Giovi tunnel, was the construction of the railway from Turin to Genoa, which was opened in 1854. Within a few years, commerce and industry flourished, prosperity and comfort spread, and the State finances were restored to a healthy condition. Meantime, King Victor Emmanuel devoted his attention in particular to the army, and availing himself of the services of the Minister La Marmora, he reorganized it so thoroughly, and brought it to such a state of discipline, instruction and equipment, that it recovered the prestige lost at Novara.

. . . . . .

In foreign politics, too, the country soon felt with satisfaction that the government was in the hands of strong, courageous men.

After the Milanese movement of February 6, 1853, the Emperor of Austria, "having considered the clear proofs of the participation of political fugitives from the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom in the recent events at Milan," decreed on February 13th that "all the property, movable and immovable, of political refugees from the kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, situated in these countries, is to be considered from to-day as placed under sequestration." Those emigrants had nearly all sought refuge in Piedmont, and were now citizens

of the Kingdom of Sardinia. Cavour, therefore, demanded explanations from Vienna of this breach of international law, but Austria, encouraged by the indifference which Europe showed towards Piedmont, declared that the step was necessary to the security of the monarchy, and declined to withdraw. Though feeling his isolation, Cavour had the courage to face any risk. He recalled the Piedmontese ambassador from Vienna (which naturally involved the withdrawal of the Austrian ambassador from Turin); and in a memorandum addressed to the European Powers he protested against the tyranny of Austria, arguing that a just government ought to have proved the complicity of the refugees before condemning them. And he induced the Subalpine Parliament to vote a subsidy in aid of the victims. In this way, Piedmont nobly displayed her sentiment of Italian nationality.

But to prepare for the future struggle it was necessary that this State, whose forces were so small and whose plans were so vast, should find a means of entering the main stream of European interests. France and England, the only Powers who had so far shown any sympathy for Piedmont and her institutions, had declared war on Russia. The difficulties which they met in the Crimea induced them to seek help. They hoped to draw Austria into the struggle, for she was naturally anxious to prevent any increase of Russian power in the Balkan peninsula. But the Emperor

Francis Joseph was afraid of appearing ungrateful towards the Czar who had helped him to stifle the Hungarian insurrection in 1849; he therefore adopted a policy full of uncertainties and equivocations. The Western Powers were confident that in the end the force of material interests would overcome, at the Court of Vienna, the sentiment of gratitude, and they continued their negotiations for a long time. Cavour watched the international situation with anxiety, for an understanding between the Western Powers and Austria would have permanently assured Austria's predominance in Italy.

By good fortune, the evasions of Austria induced the Western Powers, who needed immediate help, to turn to the small but sturdy Piedmont. Cavour, alive to the supreme necessity that Piedmont should escape from her isolation, caught the ball on the rebound and immediately announced his willingness to join the alliance. But it was not easy to negotiate an agreement. Through its Foreign Minister, Dabormida, the Piedmontese government demanded from the Western Powers a promise that when the war was finished the condition of Italy would be taken into consideration, and that meantime they would use their good offices with Austria to secure the removal of the sequestrations from the property of the Lombardo-Venetian emigrants. The two Powers, however, were not prepared to abandon the hope of drawing Austria into their alliance, and they

declined to commit themselves to any written promise. Dabormida felt that he had gone too far in his demands to be able to withdraw them without humiliation, and in face of the refusal of the Powers he resigned office. Cavour, with a courage that seemed rashness, took the responsibility of concluding the alliance without any kind of guarantee, and, as acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, he signed the treaty (January, 1855).

These diplomatic embarrassments were followed by another—the serious difficulty of obtaining Parliamentary approval of the treaty. For it gave rise to severe criticism, especially on the part of the more advanced Liberals. A fine way, they exclaimed, of asserting the policy of progress and liberty begun by Piedmont—to go and uphold with arms the barbarity and despotism of the Turk! A fine way of aiding the national cause—to push into an alliance in which there was every probability of fighting on the same side as Austria! Angelo Brofferio, the famous republican orator, wrote: "The alliance, considered economically, is profligate, from the military point of view a gigantic folly, politically a great crime."

There was a heated debate in the Chamber, but at last the treaty was approved by 95 votes to 64.

In his speeches, Cavour made it understood that when he entered into the treaty he was thinking of the interests of Italy rather than of Piedmont. Here, for instance, are some of the

words that he addressed to the Chamber at that time:

. . . . . .

"How," it will be asked, "can this treaty ever be of use to Italy?" I answer: "In the only way that is afforded to us, and perhaps to any one, to help Italy in the present conditions of Europe. . . ." I believe that the essential preliminary to improving Italy's circumstances — the indispensable and all-important requisite—is a restoration of her reputation, so that all the peoples of the world, both rulers and ruled, may do justice to her qualities. And, therefore, two things are necessary: first, to prove to Europe that Italy has political intelligence enough to conduct herself properly, to rule herself in liberty, and that she is in a fit condition to adopt the best forms of government that are known; secondly, to prove that her military valour is equal to that of her ancestors. In the past you have rendered this service to Italy by a course of conduct pursued for seven years, showing to Europe in the clearest fashion that Italians can rule themselves with wisdom, prudence and faithfulness. It still remains for you to do her an equal, if not a greater, service; it remains for our country to show that the sons of Italy know how to fight as becomes brave men on the fields of glory. And I am certain, gentlemen, that the laurels which our soldiers shall win in the regions of the East will do more for Italy's future than everything achieved by those who have believed they were effecting her regeneration with voice and pen.

. . . . . .

The debates of the Subalpine Parliament in the

winter of 1855 are memorable not only for this treaty of alliance, but also for the Bill, presented to it by the ministry, for the suppression of many religious corporations. Precisely in that year (1855) in which Austria concluded the Concordat, renouncing nearly all the rights of the State with regard to the Church, Piedmont was proceeding boldly with the transformation of the State according to the principles of Liberalism. But just then Victor Emmanuel suffered heavy family losses. Within less than a month he lost mother, wife, and brother. The Clerical party attributed these bereavements to the hand of God, who, they said, was chastising the King for having allowed his ministry to bring before the Chamber the proposal to suppress the religious corporations. The King, spared from no moral torture, passed through a period of great bitterness. When he went to Alessandria to review the corps that was going to the Crimea, and to present the colours to it, he turned to General Giovanni Durando, who was accompanying the expedition, and remarked to him: "You are fortunate, General. You go to fight the Russians; I have to fight monks and friars." The Chamber of Deputies approved the Bill; but, while it awaited discussion in the Senate, the bishops of the kingdom, profiting by the King's state of mind, offered to contribute a stated sum towards the needs of the exchequer, provided the Bill was withdrawn. The King, still perturbed by the entreaties which his dead

mother and wife had made to him not to offend the clergy, accepted the proposal. But even in ecclesiastical questions Cavour could be energetic and determined, though avoiding exaggerations. He would have nothing to do with such a transaction, and on April 26, 1855, he resigned.

This event caused lively agitations in the country, and Massimo D'Azeglio, with truly noble zeal for the public welfare, felt it his duty to make the King realize the risk that he ran in yielding to clerical pressure. Unable to see the King, he wrote this admirable letter:

SIRE:

In Spain it was forbidden to touch the King under pain of death. There was one King whose clothing caught fire; nobody ventured to touch him and the King was burned to death. But I, though I should risk my head, or even lose entirely your Majesty's favour, would think myself the most cowardly of men if, at a moment like this, I did not address a word to you—in writing, since your Majesty does not give me opportunity to speak it. Sire, believe an old and faithful servant, who in serving you has thought only of his King's benefit and honour, and his country's good. Kneeling at your feet, and with tears in my eyes, I say to you: *Go no farther along the way that you have taken.* It is not too late. Return to your former course. In one day an intrigue of friars has destroyed the work of your reign, disturbed the country, shaken the Constitution, and obscured your reputation for good faith. There is not a moment to lose. The official declarations have not finally

settled the question. It is said that the Crown was willing to seek fresh information. Let the Crown announce that this information has shown the proposed conditions to be unacceptable. Let them pass into oblivion . . . and let things resume their former natural and constitutional course. Piedmont endures all; but to be put afresh under the priestly yoke, no —by Heaven! Observe, in Spain, the intrigues of the friars with the Queen in order to make her sign a shameful concordat to which things have brought her. Intrigues like these ruined James Stuart, Charles X., and many another. Sire, you know that what I have foretold to you has happened. Believe me, the question is not one of religion, but of interests. Amadeus II. disputed for thirty years with Rome and won. Be firm, your Majesty, and you too will be victorious. Be not angry with me. This action of mine is the action of an honourable man, of a faithful subject, and of a friend of your Majesty.

AZEGLIO.

TURIN, April 29, 1855.

Four days later, Victor Emmanuel decided to recall Cavour to the head of the government. The Senate was allowed to proceed with its discussion of the Bill to suppress the religious corporations. During the month of May, the Bill was approved by the Senate, and sanctioned by the King. Cavour had won. But that furious struggle with friars and nuns, sustained rather at Court and in family circles than in Parliament, had left him a little weary. He went to rest awhile in the country

A. LA MARMORA
From a contemporary print, 1859

at Leri, in the Vercelli district, and then returned to face the difficulties of his policy.

. . . . . .

There was reason to fear that the Piedmontese troops sent to the Crimea under the command of General Alfonso La Marmora, were being kept in the background by the allies, and would die of disease in the trenches without having opportunity to win distinction. Cholera, in fact, was decimating their ranks, and already many a Piedmontese family was mourning the loss of one of its beloved members in that far-off land. Cavour wrote to La Marmora, urging him to find some means of bringing his men under fire, and waited with great anxiety for news of fighting. At last, on August 17, 1855, he received the telegram which announced the victory won by the Piedmontese on the previous day at Tchernaja. That feat of arms restored the prestige of the Piedmontese army. The English commander-in-chief, Simpson, said in his order of the day: "In this battle the Sardinian army has shown itself worthy to fight by the side of the greatest military nations of Europe." A rapid change came over Italian public opinion; everybody showed enthusiasm for the alliance and professed to have favoured it all along.

Cavour's prestige increased, and with it the prestige of Piedmont—as was seen at the close of that year 1855, when Victor Emmanuel went to Paris and London to visit his royal allies. Besides Cavour, the King took with him Massimo

D'Azeglio, who was invited, as he himself put it, to act as a lightning-conductor; his presence at the King's side was to convince Europe that Piedmont was not a revolutionary country, and to weaken somewhat the common impression that Cavour was a magnificent anarchist.

At Paris and London, Victor Emmanuel was received with royal splendour, and his visits were a popular success. A poem giving a frank and vivacious description of his qualities and characteristics found favour in the streets of London. Entertained by the City of London, whose Lord Mayor wished to honour his sovereign's ally, he made the following speech:

My Lord Mayor,

I offer my heartfelt thanks to you, to the Aldermen, and to the Commons of the City of London, for your courteous congratulations on the occasion of my visit to Her Majesty the Queen and to the English nation. The reception that I meet with in this ancient land of constitutional liberty . . . is to me a proof of the sympathy inspired by the policy which I have hitherto pursued and in which I intend constantly to persevere.

The close alliance between the two most powerful nations of the earth, whom I am now visiting, is honourable to the wisdom of the Sovereigns who rule them not less than to the character of their people. They have understood how preferable an advantageous friendship is to ancient rivalry. This alliance, a new fact in history, is the triumph of civilisation.

In spite of the misfortunes that weighed upon my kingdom at the opening of my reign, I have entered into this alliance, for the House of Savoy ever believed it a duty to draw the sword when the fight was for justice and independence. If the forces which I bring to my allies are those of a State that is not vast, I bring with me, nevertheless, the power of a loyalty that nobody has ever doubted, supported by the valour of an army that follows faithfully everywhere the banner of its kings. We cannot lay down arms before we have secured an honourable and therefore lasting peace. To this we shall attain with the help of the Almighty, seeking unanimously the triumph of the true rights and the just desires of each nation.

I thank you for the good wishes that you this day express for my own and my kingdom's future. While you speak to me of the future, it gives me pleasure to be able instead to speak to you of the present, and to congratulate you on the high place that England has attained. It is due alike to the free and noble character of the nation and to the virtues of your Queen

At Paris Napoleon III. asked Cavour what could be done for Piedmont and for Italy. Naturally Cavour did not shut his eyes to such an opportunity. At the moment he was unable to speak of war with Austria, for the Emperor of the French did not wish it; so he confined himself to indicating certain ameliorations that might be introduced into Italy, and in particular he urged the necessity of expelling the Austrians from

Romagna, and of organizing that region under a civil administration independent of the Pope. In this way he struck at both the Austrian predominance and the temporal power—the two greatest obstacles to the making of the new Italy.

. . . . . .

By this time patriotic opinion was turning with more confidence to Piedmont. Of this tendency the great Dictator of Venice, Daniel Manin, at that time an exile in Paris, made himself the mouthpiece. In September, 1855, he published his celebrated declaration:

The Republican party, so bitterly calumniated, performs a fresh act of abnegation and sacrifice for the national cause. Convinced that before everything else it is necessary to make Italy—that this is the first and dominant question—it says to the House of Savoy: "Make Italy and I am with you; if not, not." And it says to the constitutionalists: "Give your thoughts to the making of Italy, and not to the aggrandizement of Piedmont; be Italians and not provincials, and I am with you; if not, not." It seems to me that the time has come to abolish the old party names which indicate agreement and disagreement upon secondary and subordinate questions rather than upon the chief and vital one. The distinction is between two camps—the camp of national, unionist opinion, and the camp of municipal, separatist opinion. I, a Republican, plant the unionist standard. Let it be joined, surrounded, defended by all who wish that Italy may be, and Italy shall be.

Satisfaction must have filled the heart of the illustrious exile, when, in November of that year, on the occasion of King Victor's visit to Paris, he saw the Italian tricolour intertwined with the flags of France and England. To him it was like a vision of the future—a joyous project that cheered the last years of his life, and encouraged him to give his whole energy in support of the new programme.

Joseph Garibaldi, too, was beginning to adopt ideas of the same kind. After his prodigious retreat of 1849, the hero landed on the Ligurian coast; but the Piedmontese government, fearing that he would set agitation afoot, induced him to go again into exile. He spent some time at Tangier, at Liverpool, and in 1850 at New York, where he was employed as a workman in a small candle factory established by his friend and compatriot Meucci. In 1851 he began again, together with a companion, to trade between Central and South American ports. Next, passing into the Pacific, he went to China. In the autumn of 1853 he returned to New York, but sailed afterwards for Europe as master of a merchant vessel, and in May, 1854, landed finally at Genoa. He went to his native Nice, where he had left his children; and next year, having received a small legacy from his brother, he bought a half of the island of Caprera, near La Maddalena, so that he might live there a life of freedom and independence. He awaited with confidence the events that were soon to call him back to the battle-field.

By now Cavour's policy seemed clear to all. The man who at that time made the most lucid explanation of it was its determined opponent, the reactionary Count Solaro della Margherita. At the sitting of the Chamber on January 14, 1856, he declared explicitly:

The aim of Italian unity is not hidden among the secrets of the Cabinet. It shines out, clear as the light of day, from the tangle of affairs; so that, in speaking of it, I am not raising the veil from a mystery —and if such it were I ought to lift the veil and give warning of those rash and uncalled-for aspirations. It is of no use to say to the Italian Courts: "We are doing no injury; we are undertaking, and will undertake, nothing that is contrary to justice." The press gives the lie to that statement. . . . There may be a desire to restrain it within the bounds of prudence, but it breaks forth, and strives and toils to keep alive among the peoples the idea of Italian unity—worse still, to excite in men's minds a hatred of the governments by criticism of their forms and acts, by denouncing as tyrants the mildest and most just of sovereigns, applauding the hopes of their enemies, and pointing to Piedmont as the centre of their hopes and the country to which all should look who dream of new changes and fresh revolutions. Proof of what I have asserted is found in the fraternal welcome given to those who, regarded as enemies by the governments of Italy, take refuge in this free country. . . . My statement is confirmed by that memorial erected beneath the arches of the Turin Town Hall—a memorial not so much to the brave

Tuscan soldiers killed in battle (whose memory is imperishable) as to the idea itself of Italian unity.[1]

Having thus outlined Cavour's programme, the old minister of Charles Albert proceeded to criticize it.

'To cherish this idea, Gentlemen, is to feed yourselves on air, to make yourselves odious to the governments of Italy, and to lose the confidence of all the Powers of Europe. . . . The unity of Italy could be brought about only by subjecting the whole peninsula to the dominion of the Roman Pontiff, or else by taking from the Pontiff the temporal rule of his own States. The first method is far from the desires, and does not enter into the calculations, of the present advocates of Italian unity. . . . The second method is ludicrous—the idea of a Pope who may bless and pray but do nothing else! Therefore, if the audacity to attempt it is not lacking, the force to accomplish it will never be found. What we desire is not the fury of sects or the explosion of discords and factions in order to raze that edifice which, though so many times assailed, is still the glory and the ornament of this fortunate peninsula. I know not whether it may be reserved for future ages to suffer so great an injury, though I hope God will never permit it; but I know well that in our age we devoted adherents of the Holy

[1] The Grand Duke had removed from the Santa Croce Church in Florence the tablets placed there in honour of the Tuscans who had died during the war of '48; later new tablets were made by means of secret offerings, and sent to the city authorities of Turin, who with exquisite sentiment as Italians, placed them in the Portico of the municipal palace.

See have no need to fear it, nor can the Pope's adversaries flatter themselves that they are able to bring it about.

With this firm assertion, the Count Solaro della Margherita ended his speech. Less than fifteen years were to pass before the disaster which was "not to be feared in that age" was an accomplished fact.

XII

THE ITALIAN QUESTION AT THE CONGRESS OF PARIS, AND ITS RESULTS

Vittorio, Vittorio! Tu, giovine Anteo,
Per questa dolente, nel fiero torneo,
La lancia suprema sei nato a spezzar.
Raccolta dal campo fatal di Novara,
La mesta corona, dei morti sull' ara,
Di tanto suo lutto la dèi vendicar.

GIOVANNI PRATI (1815–84): *Opere*, vol. v.[1]

[1] Victor, Victor! Youthful Antæus! You are born to break, for this country of woe, the decisive lance in the fierce tournament. The crown that you took from Novara's fateful field, from the slain upon the altar, is heavy with mourning. It behoves you to avenge it of its sorrow.

CHAPTER XII

THE ITALIAN QUESTION AT THE CONGRESS OF PARIS, AND ITS RESULTS

Cavour at the Congress of Paris—Discussion of the Italian question; Buol and Cavour—Cavour's bold words in the Subalpine Parliament—The *National Society;* concentration of Italian life in Piedmont—France and England break off diplomatic relations with Naples—Change of Austrian policy in Lombardy-Venetia; rupture of diplomatic relations between Piedmont and Austria—The unfortunate Mazzinist expedition to Sapri—Universal confidence in Cavour; his habits of life and work.

KING Victor Emmanuel and Cavour hoped to see the Crimean war continued and the sphere of operations enlarged. But it was just the fear of such a contingency that induced Austria to mediate, and to compel Russia to accept her proposals of peace. Piedmont was, of course, obliged to fall in with the wishes of the Greater Powers. It was decided to hold a Congress at Paris in order to settle the articles of peace. Cavour, seeing the important part that Austria had now assumed in the mediation, expected no advantage for Piedmont, and it was with a good deal of resentment that he went to the

Congress. In that assembly of diplomatists he represented the smallest State. He maintained, therefore, an attitude of great modesty and reserve on questions that did not directly interest him, and sought merely to gain the sympathies of his colleagues. But, outside the Congress, he worked with prodigious activity to create an atmosphere favourable to the Italian cause.

Napoleon III. desired to procure some positive advantage for Victor Emmanuel—such as the acquisition of Parma and Modena, whose Dukes might have been compensated with Danubian principalities. But the schemes that he suggested required the consent of Austria, and Austria would not listen to them. Moreover, the Emperor was anxious not to offend the Pope, whom he desired as Godfather to the Prince whose birth was soon to be expected. "The devil," said Cavour, writing on March 4, 1856, to the Count Francesco Arese, "has brought it about that the Empress should desire the Pope as Godfather for her unborn child. This has gone far towards wrecking my original plan. I have devised another, but I know not how it will turn out."

Unable to secure any territorial gains for the King of Sardinia, Napoleon III. wished to give him at least a moral solatium, and he directed his Foreign Minister, Walewski, who presided over the Congress, to raise the Italian question. On April 8th, after the conditions of peace in the East had been discussed but before the sittings came to

CAMILLO CAVOUR
From a photograph

a close, Walewski rose to say that in order to consolidate the work accomplished it was necessary to take preventive measures against other complications that might arise. He hinted at the abnormal position of the Papal States, the Northern provinces of which were garrisoned by the Austrians, while French troops remained in the capital; and he went on to censure the atrocious government of the King of the Two Sicilies. He was followed by the English Minister, Clarendon, who brought a fierce indictment against the governments of Rome and Naples—the worst, he said, that had ever existed. Count Buol, the representative of Austria, objected that the plenipotentiaries had no mandate to discuss any but Eastern affairs, and that they had not been called together to tell independent sovereigns what they thought of the internal organization of their States. He felt it his duty, therefore, to refrain from participation in any such discussion.

Cavour, with well-calculated moderation, acknowledged the right of every plenipotentiary to abstain from discussing a question for which no provision was made in his instructions. But he added that he felt bound to bring under the notice of the Congress the difficult situation of Piedmont. Around herself she saw, in the rest of the peninsula, the peoples kept in a permanent condition of revolutionary disquiet by the reactionary and violent operations of bad governments. And, on the other hand, she felt herself threatened by

Austria, who having been invited by the sovereigns of the smaller States of Italy to hold their subjects in obedience, had made a military occupation of a great part of the peninsula, advancing as far as Ancona on one side and Piacenza on the other, and thereby destroying the balance between the various Italian States.

It was a very stormy meeting (much more so than appears from the published minutes), but it ended in a declaration that the Austrian plenipotentiaries associated themselves with those of France in expressing a view that the Austrian and French garrisons should withdraw from the Roman State as soon as that step could be taken without danger to the Papal sovereignty; and that the majority of the plenipotentiaries recognized that it would be well to introduce a milder system into the Italian governments, and especially into the government of the Two Sicilies.

Before leaving Paris, Cavour delivered to Count Walewski and Lord Clarendon a memorial in which, after recording that Austria's opposition had made it impossible to relieve in the least degree the ills of Italy, he again called the attention of France and England to the peril incurred by the Kingdom of Sardinia—the one Italian State which had set up an insuperable barrier against the revolutionary spirit, and had at the same time succeeded in remaining independent of Austria and in acting as a counterpoise to her aggressive influence.

Thus much of the part which Cavour had played at Paris was at once made known to the public through the newspapers. But, in private colloquies with Napoleon III. and Lord Clarendon, he persuaded them that the Italian question could be solved only by war with Austria; and that for Piedmont no course was left but one of preparation for such an event. From both of them he obtained warm promises. Lord Clarendon's words as to English participation were so explicit that, before returning to Turin, Cavour, with Napoleon III.'s concurrence, went to London to assure himself of the intentions of the English government. But he found that the English Cabinet was indisposed to interfere. It was necessary, he saw, to rely on the French alliance.

. . . . . .

At the French Foreign Office in Paris there is an enormous picture by Dubufe which represents the last sitting of the Congress of Paris. Among the diplomatists there, let us fix our attention in particular upon the representatives of Austria and Piedmont. Count Buol, vain beyond measure, considers himself greatly superior to his colleagues. Bismarck, who had opportunities of studying him closely, said: "I should like to be, for just one hour of my life, the great man that the Count von Buol believes himself to be always; my glory would be assured before God and man." Buol seems satisfied with his work, but his gaze is turned upon Cavour, who, inconspicuously attired in black,

with his neck imprisoned in an enormous cravat, stands modestly in a corner, though through his spectacles his bright eyes gleam with pleasure and malice. He is hardly in the picture. But soon he will occupy the most prominent place on the stage of European politics. He sees clearly and far, and when he is signing the peace of the East he has already sown the dragon's teeth for the new war.

On his return to Piedmont he inaugurated a new phase, bolder and more resolute, of Piedmontese policy. In a memorable speech to the Chamber on May 6, 1856, after saying that "great solutions are not made with the pen; diplomacy is powerless to change the conditions of the peoples," he proceeded:

As to the Italian question, it is true that great positive results have not been reached. Nevertheless, in my opinion, two benefits are gained. First, the anomalous and unhappy condition of Italy has been exposed to the view of Europe—and that not by demagogues, or excited revolutionaries, or impassioned journalists, or partisans, but by representatives of the first Powers of Europe, by statesmen who stand at the head of their governments, by distinguished men much more accustomed to listen to the voice of reason than to follow the impulses of the heart. That is the first result, and I regard it as of very great utility. The second is that those same Powers have declared that it is necessary, in the interest not only of Italy, but of Europe, to apply

some remedy to Italy's ills. I cannot believe that the judgments expressed and the advice offered by such nations as France and England will long remain without fruit. Though on the one hand we have to congratulate ourselves on this result, on the other I certainly must recognize that it is not free from troubles and dangers. It is certain, Gentlemen, that the negotiations at Paris have not improved our relations with Austria. We must confess that the plenipotentiaries of Sardinia and those of Austria, after sitting for two months side by side, after co-operating in the greatest political work accomplished during the last forty years, have separated without personal collisions (for I ought here to testify to the generally courteous and becoming conduct of the head of the Austrian government), but with the secret conviction that the two countries are further than ever from agreement in policy, and that the principles which they respectively uphold are irreconcilable.

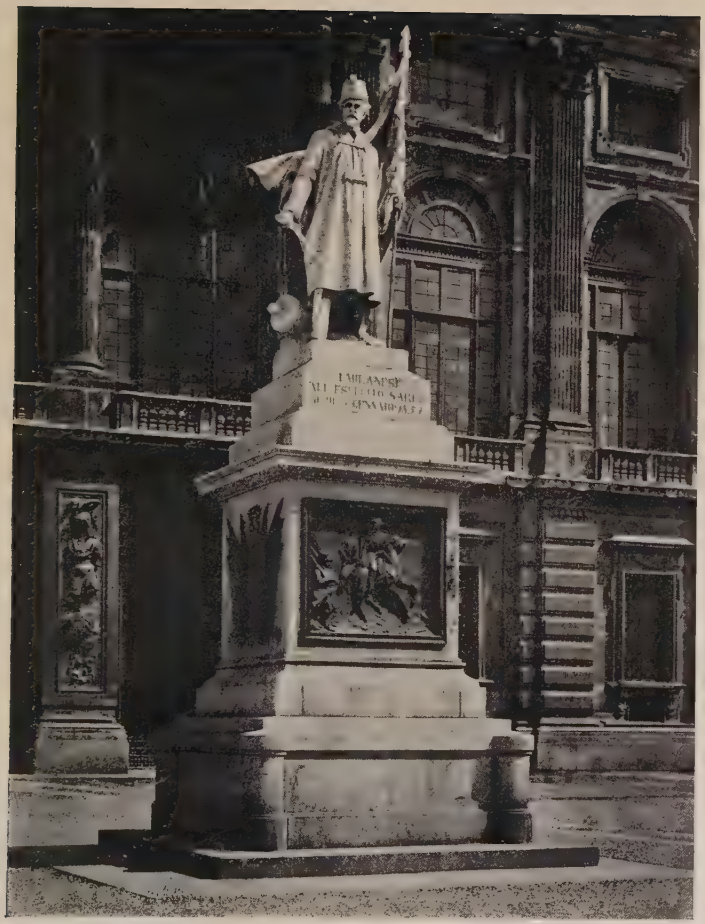
These were serious words. The Austrian government protested against Piedmont's claim to speak in the name of Italy, and denounced the daring minister as a favourer of revolutions.

It is true that Cavour desired, by speaking in so open a manner, to secure the sympathies of the patriots of the peninsula, and in that purpose he was completely successful. The Italians, schooled by their misfortunes to a riper judgment, came to understand that from Piedmont must be expected the signal of liberation. Testimonies to this

opinion were not lacking. A bust of Cavour, bearing the Dantean line, *Colui che la difese a viso aperto* ("The man who boldly defended his country"), was sent to him from Tuscany; from the Papal States a gold medal, bearing as its motto the quotation from Petrarch, *Che fan quì tante peregrine spade?* ("What are so many foreign swords doing here?"). And in Lombardy money was collected for the purpose of erecting, at Turin, a statue to the Piedmontese army.

In seeking the support of the patriots, Cavour thought at once of Garibaldi. On August 13, 1856, he held his first colloquy with him and encouraged his daring hopes. At the same time George Pallavicino, the former prisoner of the Spielberg, and Joseph La Farina, a Sicilian exile, were founding, in Turin, the *National Society*, whose purpose was to spread through the peninsula the idea, already put forward by Daniel Manin, that all should rally round Piedmont to achieve the great work of Italian liberation. From September, 1856, La Farina was in close communication with Cavour, who secretly received him at his house before sunrise.

The attraction which the free institutions of Piedmont exercised over the rest of Italy increased day by day. The old emigrants, who had met with so much generous hospitality in Piedmont, were joined by others. They all found there a new fatherland in which they obtained offices, professorial chairs, even seats in Parliament. In



THE MILANESE MONUMENT TO THE SARDINIAN ARMY
From a photograph by Vela

this way Piedmont was accomplishing that fusion of thoughts, hopes, and affections on which the future union of Italy was to rest.

. . . . . .

Meanwhile France and England, desiring somehow to enforce the views of the Congress of Paris as to Italian affairs, took diplomatic action towards the governments of Naples and Rome.

During the Crimean war, King Ferdinand of Naples had repeatedly shown his sympathies with Russia and his aversion for the Western Powers. Hence these Powers wished to give him a lesson. They recommended him to modify his rule in a Liberal direction and to grant an amnesty to the political prisoners. Ferdinand II., sure of Austria's support, replied warmly that he did not tolerate the interference of other States in his domestic government. Diplomatic Notes of increasing asperity followed, until at last Napoleon III. decided to recall his ambassador from Naples (October, 1856). The Prince Lucien Murat (son of King Joachim and therefore cousin of Napoleon III.) was living in Paris at that time. Hoping to profit by the situation, and to push his own claims to the throne of Naples, he set conspiracies afoot with the object of inducing the Emperor to support him and of gaining partisans in the Neapolitan kingdom. Cavour feared that these Murattist plots were favoured by Napoleon III., and therefore dared not openly oppose them. But in secret he warned the English government of the danger,

and England, while still associating herself with Napoleon in the protests addressed to Ferdinand, determined to restrain the Emperor; she imitated him in breaking off diplomatic relations with Naples, but would go no farther. On the other hand, many Italian patriots, and especially Manin, set about an energetic opposition to the Murattist propaganda, which consequently attained no great proportions.

On his side, Ferdinand II. pursued his reactionary and savage policy, which provoked a whole series of insurrections. In November, 1856, the young Baron Francesco Bentivegna collected some hundreds of armed men in Sicily, and occupied a part of the Termini district; but the royal troops soon scattered his followers, and he was arrested, led to Palermo, and shot. During a military review on December 8th of that year, a soldier, Agesilao Milano, flung himself on the King as he rode by, and aimed a blow at him with his fixed bayonet. The King, however, was but slightly wounded. Agesilao Milano, of course, was sent to execution. These attempts, in short, resulted only in fresh arrests and condemnations.

As to the Pope, Napoleon III. had no intention of a serious breach with him; moreover, his ambassador at Rome, Count de Rayneval, was quite devoted to Antonelli, and sent his government laudatory reports of the papal régime. Napoleon III. therefore confined himself to the making of certain recommendations which had no effect.

On the other hand, Austria, after the Congress of Paris, changed the system of government in the Italian dominions. She removed the sequestrations of 1853, granted an amnesty to the political prisoners, and remitted to the Communes a large part of the debts which they owed to the State. The Emperor Francis Joseph himself paid a visit to Venice and Milan, and in every way sought to gain the people's good-will. But on the very day of his state entry into Milan (January 15, 1857), the Turin newspapers announced the gift, by the Milanese to Turin, of a monument in honour of the Piedmontese army; and the Turin Municipality not only accepted the gift but assigned to it a conspicuous position in the Piazza Castello, in front of the Palazzo Madama, the seat of the Senate. The Piedmontese newspapers, too, speaking of the Emperor's journey, recalled the cruelties of the past, and one humorous journal, *Il Fischietto*, published a design for a triumphal arch "spontaneously" erected by the Milanese in honour of the Emperor—on the frontal the two-headed eagle held instruments of torture in its talons, and dangling between the columns were the corpses of those who had been hanged after the last political trials. Entering his residence at Milan one evening, Francis Joseph found this design spread out on a table.

The acceptance of the monument by the Municipality of Turin, and the violent language of the Piedmontese newspapers, gave great offence to

the Austrian government. Its resentment was expressed in a severe Note, which the Austrian *chargé d'affaires* at Turin read to Cavour, with a request that action should be taken. Cavour answered that it was natural for the Italian provinces to show gratitude to Piedmont for her defence of the Italian cause at the Congress of Paris. As to the press, it had freedom in Piedmont, and only excesses could be restrained. It was his fixed intention to insist upon restraint—within the limits fixed by the laws. But on the other hand it was deplorable that in Austria, where the press could only say what pleased the government, Piedmont and Victor Emmanuel were at least as grossly insulted. In view of this bold attitude, Austria decided to break off all diplomatic relations with Piedmont, which, since 1853, had been maintained by means of *chargés d'affaires* only.

At the same time, the Austrian government pursued the policy of caressing its Lombardo-Venetian subjects. The Emperor induced the old Marshal Radetzky to resign, and on February 28, 1857, he appointed his brother, the Archduke Maximilian, who had a reputation for nobility of heart and breadth of culture, to the governorship of Lombardy-Venetia. Maximilian made a genuine attempt to win esteem and to rally round himself the people of greatest standing in Lombardy and Venetia, but, in spite of his good intentions, the results of his policy were very slight.

The citizens of Lombardy-Venetia showed that they held the position which had been already defined by Manin: "We do not desire that Austria should become more humane; we desire that she should withdraw." The propaganda of the *National Society* had met with great success among them, and confidence in Piedmont was increasing daily.

And Piedmont, under Cavour's wise direction, showed herself more and more worthy of this confidence. When the government resolved to strengthen the fortifications of Alessandria, *La Gazzetta del Popolo* of Turin, in order to show the general sentiment still more clearly, opened a subscription for the purpose of presenting a hundred cannon to the fortress. Offerings came from all parts of Italy, and the project was speedily carried out amid general enthusiasm. Cavour ruled Piedmont as though she were already Italy. With his eye on the future, he created the strong naval port of Spezia. During the notable debate to which this plan gave rise in the Chamber of Deputies, Count Solaro Della Margherita, the famous representative of the reactionary party, called attention to "the strange behaviour of those ministers who were even then preparing to construct arsenals for the future Kingdom of Italy." Still more gigantic was the work of tunnelling Mont Cenis, which Piedmont, with courage worthy of a greater State, began at her sole expense in that same year (1857), under the

direction of the engineers Sommeiller, Grandis and Grattoni.

. . . . . .

Mazzini maintained his disapproval of Piedmontese policy. He still trusted only in popular insurrections. Coming secretly to Genoa, he prepared an expedition against the King of Naples —in agreement with Carlo Pisacane, a daring Neapolitan emigrant who had already distinguished himself in the war of 1848 and in the defence of Rome in 1849. On the evening of June 25, 1857, Carlo Pisacane, with twenty-six courageous companions, embarked from Genoa on the *Cagliari*, a steamship (belonging to the Rubattino Company) sailing for Tunis. When the open sea had been reached, these patriots forced the master to change his course, and sail for Neapolitan territory. They reached the island of Ponza, and liberated the prisoners who were in confinement there, and the next day they landed at Sapri, in the province of Salerno. But, instead of finding the help which they had expected, they met with a hostile reception from the peasants, and soon afterwards were attacked by a strong body of royal militia. They fought like heroes, but Pisacane and nearly all his companions were killed. A little later the *Cagliari* was captured at sea by a Neapolitan frigate and was taken to Naples, where master, seamen and passengers were thrown into prison, and the vessel was regarded as a lawful prize. The Piedmontese government entered an energetic

protest, and the passengers were forthwith released. As two engineers among the crew were English, Cavour solicited the co-operation of the English government in his protest, but it was only after long negotiations that the Neapolitan government decided to restore the *Cagliari* and set the prisoners free.

The unfortunate issue of the Sapri expedition alienated public opinion still more from Mazzini's methods; and, in the end, Cavour's programme was accepted by all the Liberals of the peninsula. All looked confidently to the great minister, and he, with his calm smile, made men feel that he was preparing and directing events.

Cavour combined a happy disposition with prodigious activity. Amid the claims of the most serious affairs, he found time and means to occupy himself with small and quite different matters. He rose very early (about five o'clock), and devoted the first hours of the morning to his correspondence and private affairs, and to any special interview that might be necessary. At nine o'clock he breakfasted lightly on two eggs and a cup of tea; then he walked to the Ministry—saluted by all, and greeting everybody in his cheerful, familiar way. At the Ministry he transacted the business of the day, and held the official receptions; next, he went the round of the offices, giving direct orders to the staff; and afterwards proceeded to the Chamber or the King's audience. Returning home, he gladly lingered a

little to chat with his niece, the Countess Alfieri. At six o'clock he dined with his brother, the Marquis Gustavo, with whom he remained always on the best of terms, although his brother held views very different from his own, especially on religion, and in the Chamber often voted with the Clerical party. After dinner he withdrew to his study, settled himself on a sofa, smoked a cigarette, and slept a little. Then he resumed his work—except on the few occasions on which he went into society or attended the theatre. Invariably he retired to rest before midnight.

Thus, by a regular distribution of his time, he succeeded in discharging an infinite variety of duties. He had, too, a marked facility in turning from one occupation to another, and a readiness of mind that enabled him to employ usefully even a few moments' interval between one task and the next.

Even when his political anxieties were most acute, he wrote many letters with his own hand, on the most varied subjects and to all sorts of correspondents. More than three thousand five hundred of them are included in the various collections hitherto published. The language is wanting in purity and elegance—occasionally even in grammatical accuracy. Yet the letters are read with the deepest interest, for in them is seen the whole man—not merely the high intellect and the strong will, but the admirable disposition, open and expansive; the sincere and generous heart, which

sometimes kindles into passion, but always in zeal for the public welfare, and without a trace of personal motives.

The nine years of his ministry were nine years of a life dedicated to his country day by day, hour by hour. One might almost say they were multiplied by his deliberate but self-sacrificing habit of overwork. And amid the gravest difficulties, and in the most troublous times, he still preserved an abundant, contagious confidence, which stimulated his fellow-workers to redoubled exertions.

XIII

THE MEETING OF PLOMBIÈRES

Flash in God's justice to the world's amaze,
Sublime Deliverer!—after many days
Found worthy of the deed thou art come to do—
Emperor
Evermore.

But Italy, my Italy,
Can it last, this gleam?
Can she live and be strong,
Or is it another dream
Like the rest we have dreamed so long?

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING: *Napoleon III. in Italy.*

CHAPTER XIII

THE MEETING OF PLOMBIÈRES

Napoleon III. and the principle of nationality—The Orsini plot—Cavour's speech to the Chamber—Cavour at Plombières (July, 1858); verbal compact with Napoleon III.—Cavour's colloquy with Garibaldi—Preparations for war.

NAPOLEON III. is one of the most interesting figures in the history of the nineteenth century, by reason not only of the extraordinary vicissitudes of his life, but also of the ideas that he championed. Born in 1808, just when the empire of Napoleon I. was touching its zenith, he was still a young child when, after Waterloo, he was obliged to go into exile from France. During that life of banishment, spent in company with his mother Hortense, he conceived a passion for the records of his uncle's glory. Going into Italy, he shared with enthusiasm in the Romagna revolution of 1831. After the death of the Duke of Reichstadt he adopted the rôle of a pretender, and made two vain attempts to overthrow Louis Philippe's throne. But even in the prison of Ham he continued to educate himself for a public career, for he held a fatalistic belief that some day he

must take up and pursue the work of Napoleon I. The Republic of 1848 gave him the opportunity of sitting in the Assembly, among the representatives of the nation, until the magic name he bore, and his own and his friends' devices, raised him to the Presidency and thence to the Emperor's throne. He arrived there with an imposing programme of foreign policy. He had realized that the principle which was destined to triumph in his age was the principle of nationality, and he had convinced himself that France, by making herself its champion, might give an era of peace to Europe, acquire preponderant power, and perhaps extend her territory to the Alps and the Rhine, which she coveted as her natural boundaries. These his political convictions induced him to favour the revival of the Italian nation, for which he felt also a personal predilection, inspired by the memories of his youth.

But his high designs were not matched by courage in executing them. In that man of the olive complexion and the furtive glance there were strange contradictions of strength and weakness, tenacity and irresolution, intellectual clearness and obscurities of conscience. His policy moved by leaps, and it was full of sudden, unexpected changes. In general, one may say that it was nearly always the force of circumstances which drove him to express, in action, the ideas that slumbered in the depth of his mind.

As long ago as December, 1855, he had asked

NAPOLEON III
From a contemporary print, 1859

Cavour what he could do for Italy. But afterwards, in order to avoid too violent a collision with Austria and the Pope, he had sought to calm the bold impatience of the Piedmontese minister. Little by little, however, Cavour was able to inspire him with confidence, and to fix his thoughts on the necessity of war with Austria; he was the tempter of genius, who irresistibly urged the Emperor forward.

Alliance with France had become Piedmont's only hope, for, after the Congress of Paris, England seemed to desire a good understanding with Austria. Cavour was working actively to secure the alliance with the Emperor, when there occurred (January, 1858) the murderous outrage committed by Felice Orsini, an Italian patriot and former member of the Roman Assembly. It seemed that this would inevitably check the good intentions of Napoleon III. with regard to the Italian cause; instead, through the strange complexity of his romantic temperament, it had the opposite effect. From prison, Orsini wrote him a truly noble appeal on behalf of Italy. The words of the intrepid conspirator made a profound impression on the mind of Napoleon III., whose youth was passed among Italian plotters. He allowed Orsini's letter to be printed; it was a good sign. Cavour, on his part, knew how to turn the situation to advantage. He made the Emperor understand that it was by this time impossible to prevent the outbreak of insurrections in the peninsula,

unless some satisfaction were given to public opinion; that the revolutionaries attributed to Napoleon III. a great part of the ills of the peninsula, and were so numerous and so bold that fresh outrages were inevitable; and that he ought, by some action favourable to Italy, to wipe out the memory of the French expedition of 1849 against the Roman Republic.

Napoleon III., in fact, was at that time thoroughly hated by the Italian Liberals, so that another difficulty arose for Cavour—the difficulty of persuading the Liberals of the advantage of the French alliance. It was the greater because many feared that France might afterwards acquire an undue influence in the peninsula. Cavour understood this risk very clearly. But he had no great choice of means; and on the other hand he was confident that if it so happened he could apply a remedy with England's aid.

He pursued his plan, therefore, of gaining the French alliance, and on April 16, 1858, he ventured to announce openly in Parliament the political situation that he wished to bring about:

> It was impossible that we should remain faithful to the aspirations of King Charles Albert, who desired to preserve a Liberal and Italian policy, without provoking against us the resentment of any Powers which have, in Italy, interests different from our own. . . . I do not disguise from myself the fact that this constitutes a grave position—one which ought seri-

ously to occupy the mind of the government and of the nation. And in truth, Gentlemen, when we compare our material resources with those of the Powers to which I was just now referring, we cannot regard our condition as free from peril. . . . How are we to avoid this peril, or to prepare for it? We have tried to solve that problem by the system of alliances—by seeking to form, maintain, and extend alliances with Western Powers that had no interests hostile to our own in Italy. . . . Though political questions are discussed by means of diplomacy in Notes, protocols and memoranda with legal arguments, they are decided afterwards on the battle-field by the battalions and squadrons of the different Powers. And although, in this, Fortune does not always favour rigorous justice, she is still, as in the time of Frederick the Great, the friend of big battalions. When a nation is unable to put a large army into the field, it must seek to gain, in its need, the support of the big battalions of its friends and allies.

. . . . . .

Towards the end of May, 1858, Napoleon III. sent secretly, to Turin, Dr. Conneau, his physician and friend, of whose services he sometimes availed himself in order to carry on diplomatic negotiations without the knowledge of his Foreign Minister. Conneau invited Cavour to meet the Emperor when his Majesty went to take the waters at Plombières, in the Department of the Vosges.

Cavour reached Plombières on the evening of July 20th, and next morning he was received by

Napoleon III. The Emperor opened that famous colloquy by declaring that he had decided to help Piedmont to fight Austria, provided the war should be undertaken for a cause that was not revolutionary, and was capable of justification in the eyes of diplomatists, and especially of public opinion in France and in Europe generally. The two statesmen set themselves to examine together the conditions of the States of Italy in order to find this cause of war, and in the end agreed that the condition of the inhabitants of Massa and Carrara, who were impatient of the Duke of Modena's oppression, would furnish the desired pretext. These sufferers were to be incited to invoke the protection of Victor Emmanuel; the King of Sardinia would write a severe Note to the Duke of Modena, who, strong in the support of Austria, would certainly make an insolent reply; Victor Emmanuel would then occupy Massa, and so the war would begin.

Before going further, the Emperor wished to find a solution of his difficulties regarding the Pope and the King of Naples, towards whom he was anxious to show consideration in order to avoid a rupture with the Catholics of France, and to preserve the sympathy of the Czar, who made it almost a point of honour to protect the King of Naples. Cavour desired to simplify matters, and moreover was convinced that the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy would solve all other Italian problems. He answered that the Emperor

could keep the Pope in peaceful possession of Rome by means of the French garrison, which had remained there since 1849, but that he should allow Romagna, occupied by the Austrians, to revolt. As to the King of Naples, unless he took Austria's part it was unnecessary to trouble about him, beyond leaving his subjects (if they profited by the occasion) to rid themselves of his hereditary domination.

This reply satisfied the Emperor; he was content then to discuss the scope of the war. The Emperor admitted without difficulty that it was necessary to drive out the Austrians entirely from Italy—to leave them not a hand's breadth of territory on the Italian side of the Alps and the Isonzo. After long discussion, the establishment of a Kingdom of Upper Italy (including Romagna) under Victor Emmanuel, and the cession of Savoy to France, were arranged in general terms. The question of Nice was left undecided, for Cavour pointed out that its annexation by France would be contrary to that principle of nationality for which the war was to be fought.

Passing next to examine the means to be employed, the Emperor said it was necessary to isolate Austria, and that he felt sure of the good-will of Russia and the neutrality of England and Prussia. However, he did not deceive himself as to the enormous military resources of Austria, and her tenacity. To force her to renounce Italy it was necessary to advance upon Vienna, and, therefore,

at least three hundred thousand men would be required. He was prepared to send two hundred thousand, and he asked for a hundred thousand Italians.

This conversation lasted from eleven o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon. The Emperor then invited Cavour to return at four o'clock, so that they might take a drive together in his carriage. At the appointed hour, Napoleon III. and Cavour took their seats in a handsome phaeton, drawn by American horses and driven by the Emperor himself. A single servant accompanied them. As soon as they had left the streets of Plombières, the Emperor turned the conversation to the subject of a marriage between Prince Jerome Napoleon and the Princess Clotilde, eldest daughter of Victor Emmanuel. Cavour knew that the King was unwilling to be separated so soon from his daughter, of whom he was very fond, who was not yet sixteen years old, and who had already suffered, four years before, the grievous loss of her mother. And he knew how repugnant to the King would be the idea of giving her in marriage to Prince Napoleon, who, though a cousin of the Emperor, did not belong to one of the old princely families of Europe, was reputed to be a sceptic and a libertine, and was already thirty-seven years old. Cavour therefore made no undertaking. But during their three hours' drive through the forests of the Vosges, he was convinced that the Emperor attached very great

PRINCE NAPOLEON
From a contemporary print

importance to this part of the project. Writing to Victor Emmanuel, he tried to persuade him of the necessity of such a sacrifice. The Prince, he said, was better than his reputation. Moreover, history showed us that a very sad existence was the lot of princesses, even when their marriages took place in accordance with the proprieties and with established custom. He cited for example the unhappy fate of the four daughters of Victor Emmanuel I.:

> The eldest (and she was the happiest) married the Duke of Modena, Francis IV., and has associated her name with that of a universally detested Prince. Truly your Majesty would not consent to such a marriage for your daughter. The second has espoused the Duke of Lucca, Charles Louis of Bourbon. It is unnecessary for me to recall the result of that marriage. The Duchess of Lucca was, and is, as unhappy as it is possible to be in this world. It is true that Victor Emmanuel's third daughter ascended the throne of the Cæsars—but it was in order to be united to an impotent and imbecile husband (Ferdinand I.), who was obliged, after a few years, to descend it ignominiously. Lastly, the fourth, the charming and excellent Princess Christina, married the King of Naples. Your Majesty knows well the harsh treatment to which she was exposed, and the sorrows that led her to the tomb with the reputation of a saint and a martyr.

In the profound conviction that this marriage was absolutely necessary to secure the success of

the alliance which he had concluded, Cavour wrote forthwith to General La Marmora, in order to enlist his influence with the King.

It would be a mistake, a very grave mistake, to be joined with the Emperor and at the same time to offend him in a way that he would never forget. It would be extremely dangerous to have on our side, and in the heart of our councils, an implacable enemy —all the more to be feared since Corsican blood flows in his veins. I have written warmly to the King, begging him not to risk the finest enterprise of modern times for some scruples of rank aristocratic prejudice. I pray you, when he consults you, add your voice to mine. Either let us not attempt this undertaking, in which the crown of our King and the fate of our people are put in jeopardy; or, if we do attempt it, then for the love of Heaven let nothing be neglected that can secure our ultimate success in the struggle.

These letters are dated from Baden, whither, after the meeting of Plombières, Cavour went to speak with the large number of Russian and German princes and diplomatists who were there for the waters. In less than twenty-four hours he had opportunity to converse with many of them, and he formed the conviction that Austria would be left alone in the struggle. Returning to Italy full of hope, the great minister sent for Garibaldi and told him to hold himself in readiness. Garibaldi, of course, welcomed the invitation with enthusiasm, and gave instructions to his most

intimate friends for the organization of a corps of volunteers.

. . . . . .

Although the agreement of Plombières was kept so secret that Napoleon III. did not even communicate it to his own Foreign Minister, acute anxiety was soon observed in the diplomatic world, for Cavour had every interest in troubling the waters. In December, 1858, Mr. Odo Russell, the distinguished English diplomatist, who was passing through Turin, had a conversation with Cavour, which he afterwards described in these terms:[1]

Cavour said to me that I might look forward to an interesting winter, as he was about to reopen the Italian question and free Italy from the Austrian yoke. On my observing that Austria had but to play a waiting game to exhaust the already heavily taxed military resources of Piedmont, and that a declaration of war by Piedmont would enlist the sympathies of Europe in favour of Austria rather than of Italy, he replied that he fully agreed with me; but that if, on the contrary, Austria declared war against Piedmont, then public opinion would side with Italy and support the cause of the weak and oppressed against the strong. On my saying that Austria was scarcely capable of committing so egregious a mistake, Cavour replied: "But I shall *force her* to declare war against us." I confess I felt incredulous, but asked when he expected to accomplish so great a wonder of diplomacy. "About the first week in May," was his reply. On

[1] *The Quarterly Review*, July, 1879, p. 129.

leaving Cavour I took a note of our conversation. Great was the surprise of Europe when Austria declared war against Piedmont a few days before the time he had specified.

The old Prince Metternich was right when he remarked at that time: "There is only one diplomatist left in Europe, and he, unfortunately, is against us; I mean Count Cavour."

GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI AS A PIEDMONTESE GENERAL
From a contemporary print, 1859

XIV

"AN INTERESTING WINTER"

Shout for the head of Cavour;
And shout for the heart of a King
That 's great with a nation's joy!
Shout for France and Savoy!

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING: *Napoleon III. in Italy.*

PALAZZO MADAMA, TURIN

From a photo by Alinari

CHAPTER XIV

"AN INTERESTING WINTER"

Victor Emmanuel and "the cry of woe"—Marriage of the Princess Clotilde with Prince Napoleon—Armaments of Austria and Piedmont—The exertions of diplomacy, and Napoleon III.'s wavering attitude—Bellicose tendencies of the Court of Vienna—Cavour's skilful efforts—A tragical moment—Austria's ultimatum and the outbreak of the war—Proclamations by Victor Emmanuel and Francis Joseph.

THE "interesting winter" foretold by Cavour to Odo Russell opened with the well-known words of Napoleon III. at his reception on New Year's Day, 1859. Turning to the Austrian ambassador he said: "I regret that our relations with your government are not so good as they were; but tell your Sovereign that my feelings towards him have not changed." There is, indeed, no threat in these words. In normal circumstances they might very well have been interpreted as a personal affirmation of conciliatory sentiments, and it was perhaps with such an intention that the Emperor used them, if we are to believe what he afterwards wrote to Queen Victoria. Instead, they created an enormous sensation, and were generally interpreted as the prelude of war—

perhaps because the diplomatic world was greatly agitated, perhaps because the Sovereign who had pronounced them was regarded as a Sphinx.

The speech that was to be made by King Victor Emmanuel II. at the reopening of Parliament on January 10th was awaited, therefore, with great excitement, and the assembly-hall of the Madama Palace presented on that day a most imposing spectacle. Victor Emmanuel delivered his memorable utterance with striking vigour and emphasis:

Encouraged by the experience of the past, we face the eventualities of the future with resolution. That future will be happy; for we base our policy on justice, on the love of liberty and of the fatherland. Our country, small in extent, has acquired credit in the Councils of Europe because it is great in virtue of the ideas which it represents and the sympathies which it inspires. This condition is not free from perils, since, while we respect the treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of woe that comes to us from so many parts of Italy. Strong in concord, trusting in the justice of our cause, we await with prudence yet determination the decrees of Divine Providence.

These words made a tremendous impression. Joseph Massari, the distinguished Neapolitan author, who was present, wrote:

Senators, deputies, spectators sprang to their feet and broke forth in deafening cheers. The ministers of France, Prussia and England gazed in astonish-

ment and emotion at that wonderful sight. A gloomy pallor spread over the face of the Neapolitan *chargé d' affaires*. We, poor exiles, did not even attempt to wipe away the tears that flowed in streams from our eyes and would not be restrained; and we applauded frantically that King who was thinking of our sorrows and was promising to give us a native land.

As he returned to his palace that day, amid enthusiastic ovations, Victor Emmanuel must surely have recalled how, ten years before, when he presented himself for the first time before Parliament, in the same Madama Palace, to swear that he would keep the Constitution, he was received with a silence so distrustful and hostile that he nearly burst into tears of sorrow and rage. By his power of reading the times, by making himself the true interpreter of national sentiment, he had overcome that hostility; he had felt the country attach itself with increasing trust to his throne; and now the warmth of popular enthusiasm came to recompense him for the mortifications which he had suffered and the difficulties that he had surmounted. He faced all the perils of the situation with courage and with ardour. "Next year I shall be either King of Italy or merely M. de Savoie."

Persuaded by the political considerations which his great minister laid before him, Victor Emmanuel had even consented to the marriage of his daughter Clotilde. Prince Jerome Napoleon reached Turin on January 16th, and two days later

signed, on the Emperor's behalf, a treaty embodying the verbal agreements of Plombières. On the 23d, in receiving the deputations that came from the Chamber and Senate to present their reply to the royal speech, Victor Emmanuel gave official notice of the approaching marriage. It was solemnized on January 30th.

The Princess Clotilde certainly experienced great bitterness at the court of the Tuileries, owing to the impropriety of her consort's behaviour and the ill-concealed hostility of the Empress Eugénie. In the course of time she concentrated her care on works of piety and the education of her children.[1] But although this marriage was none too happy for her, it had joyous consequences for Italy. For Jerome Napoleon, having thus become a near relative of the House of Savoy, showed himself on many occasions a firm friend of the peninsula. Endowed with a keen intellect and possessed of wide culture, he was able to maintain the Italian cause with warmth and effectiveness against the intrigues of the Clerical party and of the Empress herself.

. . . . . .

In view of the attitude taken by Piedmont and France, Austria felt it necessary to assume a posture of defence; she sent a new army-corps into

[1] Left a widow in 1891, the Princess Clotilde settled at the Castle of Moncalieri, near Turin, and there she died in 1911. She had three children: Victor, born in 1862; Louis, born in 1864; and Lætitia, born in 1866.

PRINCESS CLOTILDE
From a painting by Herbert

Italy and stationed it on the Piedmontese frontier. Cavour thereupon moved more boldly. He procured from Parliament a vote of fifty million lire for extraordinary expenditure, and he invited Garibaldi to organize his corps of volunteers, to whom the name *Cacciatori delle Alpi* was given. He wished to stamp the war with a national character, and therefore he worked in secret (especially by means of the *National Society*) to collect volunteers in Piedmont from every part of the peninsula. It was a striking and significant spectacle—the sight of so great a number of young men braving a thousand perils in order to go from their several States to Piedmont and take up arms against the foreigner. But the organization of these troops was involved in many complications. The professional soldiers and the bureaucracy were opposed to them; every moment some article of the regulations was brought up as an obstacle; at last Cavour personally undertook the task, and the volunteers were organized by the Ministry of the Interior.

But foreign politics gave him other and much more serious preoccupations. By the treaty concluded with Napoleon III. it was established that France should only come to the aid of Piedmont if she were attacked by Austria. Hence Cavour was forced to employ every means of provocation. On the other hand public opinion in France was unfavourable to war; in the Imperial Court itself the opposition party was very power-

ful; and the Emperor, always a little unstable of character, was seen to be wavering.

The English government, which was at that time in the hands of the Conservatives[1] and in close relations with Austria, tried to take advantage of this situation and to prevent the outbreak of war. Acting under instructions from his government, Lord Cowley, the English ambassador at Paris, went to Vienna and attempted to heal the breach between France and Austria. Napoleon III. was unwilling to offend England, so he feigned submission to the pressure of the English government. Austria put little trust in pacific treaties, and, while discussing the bases of agreement, pushed on her military preparations. Cavour cleverly seized the opportunity which these preparations afforded him. On March 8th, declaring that he could not leave the country defenceless against the menaces of Austria, he issued a decree summoning the contingents to arms. By this time agitation in Italy had reached a point at which it could no longer be restrained. But Napoleon III. still hesitated.

About the middle of March, Russia proposed a congress for the settlement of the question. The English government, although annoyed that its own mediation should be interrupted in this way, assented to the proposal, and in the end formulated the essential points for discussion:

[1] Lord Derby's second administration, which came into office early in 1858.

First, to determine the means by which peace between Austria and Sardinia could be preserved; secondly, to decide how the evacuation of the Roman States by the Austrian and French troops could best be effected; thirdly, to examine the reforms that should be introduced into the internal administration of the States of Italy; fourthly, to substitute, for the treaties between Austria and the Duchies, a confederation of the States of Italy for their mutual protection, both internal and external. On March 19th Austria announced her acceptance of the proposal of a congress of the five great Powers of Europe (thus excluding Piedmont), provided that no territorial changes should be discussed and that Piedmont should disarm before the congress met. For her part, Austria promised not to attack Piedmont. The English government accepted these conditions, and pressed Napoleon III. to agree, in order that the two governments of France and England might invite Sardinia to disarm, and might offer, as an equivalent, their guarantee against any attack by Austria.

By the influence of counsellors who were opposed to the idea of fighting, Napoleon III. was induced to enter into negotiations of this kind—perhaps merely to gain time, since he did not yet consider himself well prepared for war. To persuade Cavour, in his turn, the Emperor invited him to Paris.

Cavour reached Paris on March 26th. He found the Minister Walewski determined to

put every obstacle in the Emperor's way, in order to prevent him from entering on a war. But what impressed him most was the insistence with which the Emperor himself urged him to accept the idea of disarming. Piedmont could not do this without losing all prestige and all authority over the Italian patriots; therefore (as Walewski said to Lord Cowley a few days later) no argument, no entreaty, influenced the mind of the Count di Cavour, who persistently replied that he and his sovereign would be lost if they assented to so humiliating a proposal.

Even in these difficult moments Cavour's happy temperament enabled him to see the humorous side of things. Baron de Rothschild, naturally desirous of knowing whether the great minister expected war or peace, went to pay him a visit. Cleverly evading the question, Cavour said: "Now, my Lord, I will make you a proposal. Let us combine to buy some stocks. Let us speculate for a rise. I will resign, and there will be a rise of three francs." "You are too modest," replied the Baron with a smile; "your Excellency is worth quite six francs."

Faced by a diplomacy which, in the tangled confusion of those days, no longer knew what it wanted or what it could achieve, Cavour had the great advantage of a fixed idea, a definite policy; and at that very time, when many diplomatists believed that the clouds of war could be dispelled, he, on the contrary, was even treating with an

agent of Kossuth's to arrange a timely insurrection in Hungary.

His conversations with the Emperor convinced him that war would come about, but that it would be delayed at least two months, and that it would be waged simultaneously on the Rhine and on the Po. These assurances gave him little satisfaction —perhaps by reason of the delay, which might involve fresh troubles; perhaps by reason of the greater complications of so vast a war. He was therefore somewhat downcast when he left for Piedmont. Truly it was a dramatic contrast that, while he came back to Turin (April 1st) with mind distressed, the people of the capital, with boundless faith in him, gathered in crowds beneath his windows and already acclaimed him as the saviour of Italy.

. . . . . .

While all the diplomacy of Europe was working for the maintenance of peace, Cavour pursued in secret the audacious policy that was to lead to war. Writing at that time to the Prince Napoleon, the only personage at the French Court who showed himself a zealous defender of the Italian cause, he said: "We shall not disarm. To-day we have a moral strength that is worth an army. If we lose it, nothing will restore it to us." It was necessary, however, to make a show of acquiescing in the proposals of the Powers, but, by means of quibbles, to exhaust the patience of Austria and impel her to throw down the glove.

The military element, always predominant at the Court of Vienna, was bellicose enough. For his part, the Emperor Francis Joseph had reached the throne as a youth during the terrible crisis of 1848, and had formed his political conceptions amid the Austrian successes of 1849, and now, a young and vigorous man, twenty-nine years of age, he could no longer tolerate the constant pin-pricks of the little State of Piedmont. His Foreign Minister, Count Karl Ferdinand von Buol-Schauenstein, might be described as a bad pupil of Metternich, whose prejudices and whose arrogance he had inherited. In an atmosphere so proud and warlike, the diplomatic finesse of Cavour gradually exasperated men's minds to such a degree as to make them lose a clear view of the situation—the more so as the Austrian ambassador at Paris was Baron Hübner, who was not only animated by the sentiments common to all the diplomatic and military personnel of Austria, but also retained a not very pleasant recollection of Italy, since in 1848 he had been detained at Milan for some months as a hostage. Hübner now rejoiced to see peaceful opinions prevailing at the Court of Napoleon III.; and after Cavour's journey to Paris he was convinced that France would abandon Piedmont. He therefore gave the Minister Buol such information as to induce him to adopt a still more arrogant tone towards Piedmont.

Early in April the Court of Vienna decided to

end the suspense and face war, and it sent notice of its intention to General Giulay, Radetzky's successor in the command of the Austrian troops in Italy.[1] Consequently, while negotiations were still in progress, and English diplomacy was flattering itself that it could solve the problem of Piedmont by a scheme of general disarmament, General Giulay caused to be read, in all the barracks, the following order of the day, which was at once transmitted to the Turin newspapers and printed by them in proof of Austrian provocation:

Soldiers! His Majesty the Emperor summons you to the standards in order to abase, for the third time, the conceit of Piedmont, and to hunt from their lair the fanatical subverters of the general tranquillity of Europe. Soldiers of every rank! You are going against an enemy whom you have always put to flight. Remember only Volta, Sommacampagna, Curtatone, Montanara, Rivoli, Santa Lucia, and a year later La Cava, Vigevano, Mortara and, lastly, Novara, where you scattered and annihilated the foe. It is useless to recommend discipline and courage to you, for your discipline is unique in Europe and in courage no army surpasses you. Let your watchword be: "Long live the Emperor and our own good right."

On reading this manifesto King Victor Emmanuel was filled with indignation. He sent it immediately to the Prince Napoleon at Paris, and he

[1] Radetzky died in January, 1858, at the age of ninety-one.

wrote to Cavour: "I should like to fire the first cannon to-night."

The more strained the position became, the more the diplomatists increased in zeal. There was even a moment in which they believed the danger of war had been removed. On the night of April 18th the French ambassador at Turin received a telegram from the Count Walewski, informing him that Napoleon III. had agreed with England upon terms for the meeting of the congress (to which an attempt would be made to admit the Italian States also), and directing him to ask Cavour's immediate assent to disarmament. A secretary of the embassy went at once to the Cavour Palace. The minister had retired to rest, but on being told of this unusual visit he directed that the secretary should be shown into his room. There, sitting on the bed, he read the unlucky telegram. It seemed to him that he was abandoned by France, and he feared that he had drawn his country to ruin. His grief was so great that he exclaimed: "There is nothing left for me now but to blow out my brains with a pistol." In the morning the ambassador paid a personal visit to Cavour, who handed him this declaration:

Since France joins England in demanding the preventive disarmament of Piedmont, the King's government, although it foresees that this provision will have the most calamitous consequences for the tranquillity of Italy, declares its readiness to comply.

What anguish it must have been to Cavour to write those words! For it seemed that they might mark the renunciation of the dream that he had cherished so long.

That was the most tragic moment of Cavour's life. He shut himself up in his study and gave orders that nobody should be allowed to enter. His servants and intimate friends were alarmed at his behaviour. At length Michelangelo Castelli resolved to disobey the instruction. Going into the study, he found Cavour seated at a table, and surrounded by heaps of papers that had just been torn up. Other documents were burning in the fireplace. Cavour looked fixedly at Castelli, without speaking. "I know," said Castelli, "that nobody was to enter here, but I have come for that very reason. Am I to believe that the Count di Cavour is going to desert the field before the battle?" Then, overcome by emotion, he burst into tears. Cavour rose, embraced his friend convulsively, and paced about the room for a little while in a state of feverish agitation. Then, turning again to Castelli, he slowly pronounced these words: "Let us be calm! We will face everything—and always all together."

By good fortune the importunity of Austria rescued Piedmont from her gloomy situation. Convinced that these negotiations were all in vain, Austria desired to put an end to a position that had become intolerable, and decided to precipitate events by taking directly in hand the

question of disarmament. She hoped to crush Piedmont at once, before the French intervened, and trusted then to drag Germany along with herself into the struggle against France. Precisely on that day (April 19th) on which Cavour was so greatly agitated by fear that the idea of peace would triumph, the Count Buol (who had not yet learned of the reply given that very morning by Piedmont to France) charged the Baron Kellersberg to carry to Turin an invitation to a prompt disarmament, and a request for a conclusive answer within three days.

The English government, alarmed, interposed yet once again to induce the Austrian minister to recall Kellersberg by telegraph, pointing out that, after the news that had just come of Piedmont's consent, the Austrian government would be able to do so with dignity. But Buol replied: "We have been ridiculed, provoked and insulted by Sardinia too long."

. . . . . .

The Austrian envoy's arrival at Turin was announced beforehand for the afternoon of April 23d. The Chamber was closed for the Easter vacation, but Cavour called a special sitting for that day in order to get full powers conferred on the King in case of war. The Chamber forthwith approved the proposal, amid the enthusiastic applause of the public.

At five-thirty P.M. the Baron Kellersberg delivered the Count Buol's letter to the Count di Cavour. It closed with this intimation:

I have the honour to beg your Excellency to inform me whether the government of the King consents, yes or no, to put its army on a peace footing without delay, and to disband the Italian volunteers. The bearer of this letter, to whom your Excellency will please deliver your answer, has instructions to hold himself at your disposal for that purpose during three days. If at the end of that time he has received no reply, or if the reply is not completely satisfactory, the responsibility for the grave consequences that may follow from this refusal will fall entirely on the government of his Sardinian Majesty. After trying in vain every conciliatory means of procuring for his people the guarantee of peace on which the Emperor is entitled to insist, his Majesty will be obliged, with great regret, to resort to force of arms in order to obtain it.

Cavour started with joy when he read these fierce words, for they amounted to a declaration of war. Having made an appointment with the Baron Kellersberg for the same hour three days later, in order to give him the answer, he telegraphed to Paris the text of Buol's letter, and in the King's name requested the help of the French army. Napoleon III., glad that the opportunity to decide and act had come at last, gave the necessary orders for the sending of his troops into Piedmont.

On April 25th the Subalpine Senate unanimously approved the draft Bill for conferring full powers on the King, to which the Chamber

had already consented. On the evening of the 26th the Baron Kellersberg set out from Turin with Cavour's reply, which declared that he had nothing to add to the negotiations conducted with England.

Next day (April 27th) King Victor Emmanuel announced the war to his troops by this stirring proclamation:

SOLDIERS!

Austria, who is increasing her armies on our borders, and threatens to invade our land because liberty here reigns with order, because here the State is ruled not by force but by concord and affection between people and sovereign, because here oppressed Italy's cries of woe are heard—Austria dares to command us, armed only for defence, to lay down our weapons and put ourselves in her power. That outrageous command deserved a fitting response. I have disdainfully rejected it.

Soldiers! I announce it to you, certain that you will make your own the insult offered to your King and to the nation. What I announce to you is war. Then, soldiers, to arms!

You will find yourselves facing an enemy who is not new to you; but though he is valiant and disciplined you do not fear comparison with him, and you can boast the battles of Goito, Pastrengo, Santa Lucia, Sommacampagna—Custoza itself, where four brigades struggled for three days against five army-corps. I shall be your leader. In times gone by many of you have already shared the heat of battle with ourselves; and I, fighting at the side of my

magnanimous father, saw your courage with admiring pride.

On the field of honour and glory you will, I am sure, know how to preserve, nay, to increase, your fame for bravery. You will have as comrades those intrepid soldiers of France, victors in many a famous fight, of whom you were fellow-soldiers at Tchernaja, and whom Napoleon III., ever hastening whither there is need to uphold a just cause or defend the cause of civilization, generously sends in large numbers to our aid.

March on, then, confident of victory, and with fresh laurels decorate your banner! With its three colours, and with the flower of the youth of Italy arrayed beneath it, that banner tells you that your task is the achievement of Italian independence. It is a just and sacred enterprise, and it shall be our battle-cry.

VICTOR EMMANUEL.

TURIN, April 27, 1859.

The long proclamation addressed by Francis Joseph to his peoples on April 28th is also highly characteristic. Its most important passages run:

I have ordered my valiant and faithful army to put an end to the attacks, lately carried to the extreme degree, which the neighbouring State of Sardinia is directing against the incontestable rights of my crown and the inviolability of the Empire entrusted to me by God. I have thus fulfilled my painful but unavoidable duty as head of the State. With easy conscience I can look up to God omnipotent and submit myself to His decree. With confidence I leave my resolution

to the impartial judgment of contemporaries and of posterity. As to my people, I am certain of their approval.

When, more than ten years ago, the same enemy, violating every rule of international law and every custom of war, took arms and flung himself on the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, without provocation and with the sole aim of making himself master of it; when, in many glorious encounters, he was beaten by my army, I listened only to the voice of generosity and I held out the hand to him, offering him reconciliation. I have not appropriated so much as a hand's breadth of his territory; I attacked none of the rights that belong to the crown of Sardinia in the family of European peoples; I exacted no guarantee against the repetition of such events. In the hand which grasped, in token of reconciliation, the hand that I had sincerely offered, I thought to find nothing but reconciliation. I sacrificed to peace the blood which my army had spilled in order to uphold the honour and rights of Austria.

What was the response to this generosity, perhaps unique in history? Further proof was soon given of an enmity that increased from year to year; an agitation, fraught with danger to the peace and well-being of my Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, was provoked by all the most faithless of means.

Knowing what I owe to peace, so precious to my peoples and to Europe, I patiently endured these attacks. . . . But the heart of the monarch must keep silent when honour and duty command.

The enemy stands armed on our frontiers. He has allied himself to the party of general subversion with the clearly confessed design of seizing the Austrian

possessions in Italy. He is supported by the sovereign of France, who, on imaginary pretexts, mixes himself up in the affairs of the peninsula, which are regulated by treaties, and is sending his army to Piedmont's assistance. Already the divisions of that army have crossed the Sardinian frontier.

The crown which my ancestors have transmitted to me without blemish has in the past fallen upon evil days, but the glorious history of our country shows that often, when the clouds of a revolution that imperilled the most precious possessions of humanity were threatening to spread over Europe, Providence made use of the sword of Austria, by whose flashes those clouds were dispelled. We are again in one of those epochs in which doctrines subversive of the existing order are no longer preached merely by factions, but are also thrust upon the world from the height of thrones. If I am constrained to draw the sword, that sword is consecrated to the defence of the honour and good right of Austria, the right of all peoples and all States, and the most sacred possessions of humanity.

But it is to you, my peoples, who with your fidelity to your legitimate sovereigns are the models of the peoples of the earth—it is to you that this appeal of mine is directed. Give me, in the struggle that we are engaged in, your long-proved fidelity, your self-abnegation, your devotion. To your sons whom I have called into the ranks of my army, I, their captain, send a martial salute. You ought to regard them with pride. Entrusted to them, the Austrian eagle will carry high its glorious flight. The struggle that we maintain is just. We accept it with courage and confidence. We hope not to be alone in it. And the

land that we fight on is bathed in the blood of the German peoples, our brothers; it was conquered and has been kept to this day as one of their bulwarks. This is the side from which almost always the astute enemies of Germany have begun the attack, when they have wished to break her power at the centre. The sense of this danger is spread to-day through all Germany, from the cabin to the throne, from one frontier to the other. And as the head of the German Confederation I warn you of the common peril; I remind you of those glorious days when Europe owed her liberation to the ardour and unanimity of our enthusiasm.

The hope, shown in this proclamation, of dragging Germany into the struggle came to nothing, because Austria was unwilling to make any sacrifice in favour of Prussia. She trusted that German national sentiment would prove strong enough to draw Germany into the war with France, but she was unwilling that Prussia should reap the profit, and the attitude which she therefore maintained towards that Power chilled the warlike enthusiasm of the Germans. On the other hand some of the Prussians looked at the political situation in a very different way. Bismarck, for example, who was then ambassador at St. Petersburg, suggested to his government that it should seize the opportunity to march against Austria. This advice was rejected, since Napoleon III. was hated more than Austria at the Court of Berlin; but events were carefully watched in expectation that some

occasion favourable to Prussian interests would present itself.

As to Italy, the sovereigns of the various States, though favouring Austria, were so much influenced by popular feeling that they maintained a neutral position. The Duke of Modena alone ventured openly to declare himself an ally of Austria.

As a comparison of the proclamations of the sovereigns of Austria and Piedmont plainly shows, the war that was breaking out was a war not merely between States but between parties too, and its result was bound to affect the tendency of European political life. The Kingdom of Sardinia represented the Liberal régime and the principle of nationality. Hence it had the cordial support of all the patriots of Italy and all the Liberals of Europe. Austria stood for absolutism and the predominance of the clergy. Consequently all the Conservatives and Clericals of Europe sent up prayers for her success.

XV

"BEGONE FROM ITALIA, O STRANGER, BEGONE!"

Si scorpron le tombe, si levano i morti,
I martiri nostri son tutti risorti!
Le spade nel pugno, gli allori alle chiome,
La fiamma ed il nome d'Italia sul cor!
Veniamo! Veniamo, su, o giovani schiere,
Su al vento per tutto le nostre bandiere!
Su tutti col ferro, su tutti col foco,
Su tutti col foco d'Italia nel cor.
Va fuori d'Italia, va fuori ch' è l'ora,
Va fuori d'Italia, va fuori, o stranier.

LUIGI MERCANTINI: *Inno di Garibaldi.*[1]

[1] The tombs are uncovered, the dead come from far,
The ghosts of our martyrs are rising to war,
With swords in their hands, and with laurels of fame,
And dead hearts still glowing with Italy's name.
Come join them! Come follow, O youth of our land!
Come fling out our banner, and marshal our band!
Come all with cold steel, and come all with hot fire,
Come all with the flame of Italia's desire!
Begone from Italia, begone from our home!
Begone from Italia, O stranger, begone!
Garibaldi's Hymn (G. M. Trevelyan's translation).

CHAPTER XV

"BEGONE FROM ITALIA, O STRANGER, BEGONE!"

The war of 1859: Palestro, Magenta, Solferino and San Martino—Cavour as Foreign Minister, Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of War and Marine—The most peaceful of the revolutions: flight of the Grand Duke of Tuscany from Florence—The revolution at Parma, at Modena and in Romagna—The preliminaries of Villafranca—Cavour resigns office.

THE refrain of the famous *Inno di Garibaldi*, composed by Luigi Mercantini for the war of 1859 (*Va fuori d'Italia, va fuori, o stranier*), was an exact expression of the hope of the Italians. Of such a kind also was the promise contained in Napoleon III.'s proclamation, which announced in precise terms his desire to free Italy "as far as the Adriatic." At the Plombières meeting Napoleon III. had estimated that three hundred thousand men would be needed for this enterprise; he said he was prepared to send two hundred thousand, and he asked for a hundred thousand Italians. Nevertheless he now brought into Italy little more than a hundred and twenty thousand, and the Piedmontese army numbered only sixty thousand.

Austria put a hundred and seventy thousand

men into the field, besides those who held the fortresses of Lombardy-Venetia. The Hungarian general Francesco Giulay was in command. Austria's plan was to throw herself on the isolated Piedmontese and crush them before the arrival of the French; but to carry it out the commander-in-chief needed a precision of ideas and a rapidity of execution which Giulay did not possess. He thought his army insufficiently strong for so bold an offensive, and he moved with timidity and hesitation.

On April 29th the Austrians crossed the river Ticino (which formed the boundary between Lombardy and Piedmont) and advanced towards the Sesia. It is a district of rice-fields, and is therefore intersected by many canals. Hence it was possible to flood the fields and hinder the enemy's progress, and this work was facilitated by torrential rains that happened to fall just then. Meanwhile the Piedmontese army, concentrated on the right of the Po and protected by the fortresses of Alessandria and Casale, calmly awaited the arrival of the French. The Austrians felt so certain of entering Turin that many of the officers had told their families to send letters there. Such letters reached the Turin Post-Office nearly every day. Handing them over to the Prussian Minister, who had taken charge of Austrian affairs, Cavour smilingly remarked: "Here are some letters addressed to people whose homes cannot be found; be so good, my dear Count,

as to have them delivered." Yet for some days Turin was in serious danger; the Austrians advanced as far as Chivasso, about thirty kilometres from the capital.

But while Giulay was losing time through his indecision, the French were descending into Italy and joining the Piedmontese army near the mouth of the Tanaro. Napoleon III. landed at Genoa on May 12th, and forthwith went to Alessandria to take supreme command. Giulay, seeing that his first objective was now hopeless, decided to concentrate his troops farther to the south, facing the enemy and abandoning a part of the Piedmontese territory already occupied. At that moment Napoleon determined to carry out a bold flank movement from the Po to the Ticino—the one strategic manœuvre of the whole campaign. In order to mask this movement on the left, he directed the Piedmontese to push forward, and Victor Emmanuel, who had already reoccupied Vercelli, therefore attacked Palestro. This engagement (May 30th and 31st) served admirably to conceal the movements of the French, who, using the Alessandria-Casale-Novara railway, reached the bridge over the Ticino at Buffalora. When Giulay discovered this clever piece of strategy, he saw that he must recross the Ticino, and, leading his troops back towards the north, hasten to block the enemy's road to Milan. He faced the French at Magenta on June 4th, but was repulsed and forced to retreat. On June

8th Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III. made their triumphal entry into Milan—free now from foreign domination. On his part Garibaldi, at the head of his volunteer corps, the *Cacciatori delle Alpi*, had beaten a corps of Austrians at Varese and San Fermo, had victoriously entered Como, and was now moving on Bergamo and Brescia with the intention of reaching the Tridentine Alps and cutting off the retreat of the Austrians. Meanwhile all the districts that were freed from the Austrian troops regarded themselves as still indisputably united to the dominions of Victor Emmanuel by the annexation Acts of 1848, and they gave an enthusiastic welcome to the officials who came to take possession of them in the King's name.

After the defeat of Magenta, Giulay was deposed from the command, and in his stead the Emperor Francis Joseph himself came to take charge of the army, with the assistance of the veteran Marshal Hess, who had been Radetzky's sagacious adviser ten years before. On June 24th was fought, near the Mincio, the great battle which takes its name from the two positions that were most hotly contested—Solferino and San Martino. The French were engaged at Solferino, the Piedmontese at San Martino. After a bloody struggle lasting more than twelve hours, the entire Austrian army was obliged to fall back and pass the Mincio. By this time the Italians' hope of expelling the foreigner was becoming certainty; the Franco-

THE BATTLE OF SAN MARTINO

Piedmontese army prepared to assault the fortresses of the Quadrilateral, and the fleet which had been sent into the Adriatic was on the point of beginning its operations.

. . . . . .

It might be thought that the outbreak of war must have thrown Cavour's task into the shade. On the contrary his activity just then became positively feverish. The Minister of War, General La Marmora, had set out for the camp, and Cavour took up his office also. During those ever memorable months Cavour was at the same time President of the Council, Foreign Minister, Minister of Home Affairs, and Minister of War and Marine, and his stimulus and inspiration were felt everywhere. On this point his secretary, Artom, writes:

> It is difficult for anybody who did not stand by his side in the months of April, May and June, 1859, to form an adequate conception of his power for work. He had a bed set up at the War Office, and at night, wrapped in his dressing-gown, he hurried from one Ministry to another[1] to give orders relating now to artillery, now to diplomatic correspondence, now to police.

Cavour strained every nerve to put the utmost possible strength into the field, so that victory

[1] The ministries at Turin were all collected in the Palazzo delle Segretarie (at one side of the royal palace), where at the present day is situated the Prefecture.

might not be due exclusively to the French. It was also necessary to organize the commissariat with precision and rigour, in order to avoid any repetition of the grave inconvenience that was experienced in 1848–9 through lack of provisions, baggage-waggons and munitions; and the arrangements that he made with great energy were attended by excellent results.

Nor was his diplomatic work lessened by the outbreak of war, for it was necessary to keep Austria in isolation. The Franco-Piedmontese victories themselves made the situation more and more difficult, since Napoleon III.'s triumphal advance through Lombardy alarmed Prussia to such a degree that it was feared she might take the field after all.

On May 22, 1859, just at the opening of the war, King Ferdinand II. of Naples died at Caserta, and the young Prince Francis II., son of the Princess Maria Cristina of Savoy, ascended the throne. Cavour, anxious, above all else, for a final expulsion of the Austrians, advised the young King Francis to grant a Constitution and to send his troops to join those of Piedmont and France in fighting against Austria. The advice was rejected, but even so the Italian question was advanced another step, for Cavour thenceforth felt free from any obligations to the King of Naples.

The news of the war of course excited the minds of Liberals even at a distance, though without

serious consequences. Prince Lucien Murat hoped to benefit from the situation, and tried to win partisans in the kingdom. But those Italians who aimed at national unity set themselves to frustrate his scheme, and it was also opposed, indirectly, by Cavour. Consequently it made no progress.

Meantime the outbreak of war had thrown the provinces of Central Italy into turmoil, and Cavour was obliged to watch over and direct the movement there.

. . . . . .

It was the Tuscan revolution which left the pleasantest memories behind it. Never did a people free itself from its sovereigns with greater gentleness. It might even be said that at Florence the process was marked by friendly courtesy. But it must be acknowledged that, among all the dynasties overthrown by the Italian revolution, the one which ruled in Tuscany was singular inasmuch as it had never excited a genuine hatred. Even its last representative, Leopold II., was not a man of bad character; only he had what was to the Italian mind the serious defect of belonging to the House of Austria, and he had made, in 1849, the great mistake of bringing Austrian troops into his State. Hence it was the fate of his dynasty to follow the fortunes of Austria in Italy.

There were three prominent parties in Tuscany. The Moderates, strong in their wealth and their following, would have been content that the

Grand Duke should grant a Constitution and take part in the war against Austria. They did not aim at any great upheaval—perhaps because they loved a peaceful life, perhaps because they desired to preserve the autonomy of Tuscany. But from August, 1857, there had existed in Florence a committee of that unionist and monarchical association founded in Turin, under the title of the *National Society*, by George Pallavicino and Joseph La Farina, and this committee, presided over by the Marquis Ferdinando Bartolommei, had decided to overthrow the House of Lorraine and ally themselves with Piedmont. Cavour, both directly and through La Farina, advised them how to proceed. On February 19, 1859, for instance, he wrote to Bartolommei:

> Petition for alliance with Piedmont on the basis of national independence. . . . It does not matter whether the petition is granted or rejected, provided that it is accompanied by the greatest public demonstrations that you can make. . . . Take care that everything is subordinated to the certainty of a *success*—I do not mean in the result as to the government, but in the *demonstration*.

In view of the growing importance of events, Cavour felt that the Piedmontese ambassador at Florence must be a man who was determined to carry out his policy boldly. Fearing that Carlo Boncompagni, who then held the office, might be

unwilling to assume so great a responsibility, he wrote to him on February 18th in these terms:

Though we may be in perfect accord as to the principles on which our policy reposes and the object to be aimed at, it seems to me that our views as to the means to be employed do not completely coincide. I frankly confess that I am a little less scrupulous than you, and I have a conscience (in political affairs) a little more accommodating than yours. Nevertheless, I recognize that though I am free to jeopardize the safety of my own soul in order to save the country, I cannot equally draw the souls of my friends with me along the way to perdition. I feel, therefore, that I ought to ask you to come to Turin and confer as to our policy.

On reaching Turin, Boncompagni was quickly persuaded by Cavour's ardent words. He asked to be sent back to Florence, and the request was granted. Meantime the National party continued its propaganda; and, at Leghorn, Vincenzo Malenchini got together a battalion of volunteers for service with Piedmont. When the decisive days were drawing near, the Florentine group of the *National Society* sought an agreement with the Popular party. That party, led by Joseph Dolfi, was also aiming at unity, but its tendencies were Mazzinist. It consented to common action in order to overthrow the House of Lorraine. The Moderates, on the contrary, still hoped to save the dynasty and the autonomy of Tuscany by

inducing the Grand Duke to embrace the national cause—to renew, that is to say, the policy of 1848. But it was absurd to think that after the events of 1849, after throwing himself into the arms of Austria and living for ten years in the most complete devotion to her, the Grand Duke Leopold would be able to resolve a second time to make war on his own family.

After the presentation of Austria's ultimatum to Piedmont, Boncompagni officially requested a Tuscan alliance. The Grand Duke had already repeatedly declared his desire to remain neutral, and now he once more confirmed that attitude. His refusal of the alliance naturally and necessarily determined the revolution. The fact that a part of the army (in particular the officers of artillery) had adopted the ideas of the *National Society* contributed to the easy success of the movement.

On the morning of April 27th a great crowd assembled in the Piazza Barbano (now known as the Piazza dell'Indipendenza), shouting: "Long live the war! Long live Italy! Long live Victor Emmanuel!" And the Piedmontese ambassador's house became the meeting-place of the leaders of the agitation. Impelled by the Moderate party to grant some concession, the Grand Duke charged the Prince Corsini to form a new ministry and make it known that he would consent to an alliance with Piedmont. Corsini went to Boncompagni's house in order to learn the claims of the

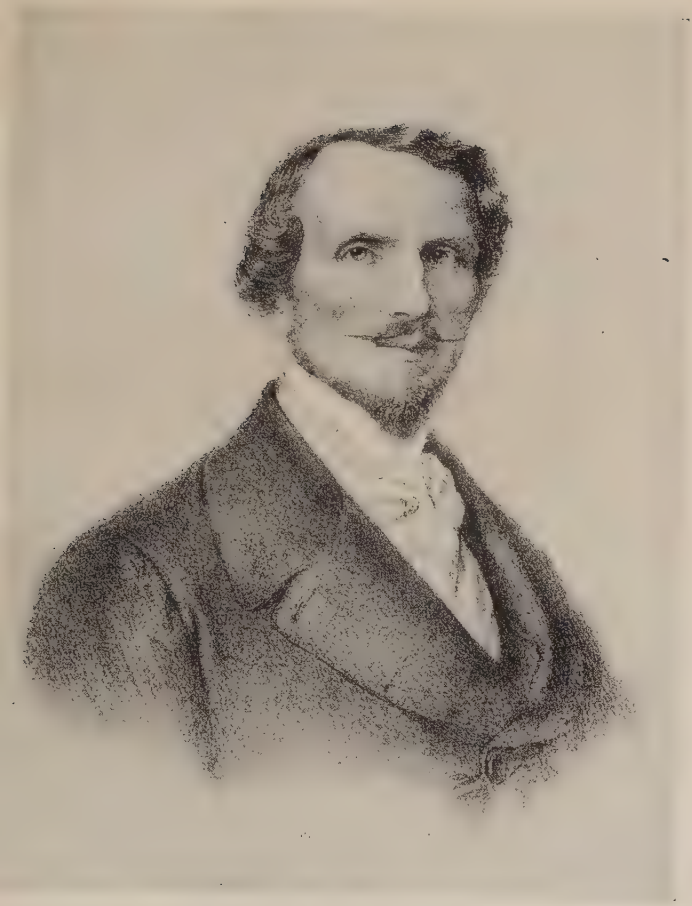
revolutionaries. They, desiring the rejection of their demands, asked for the abdication of the Grand Duke Leopold II.; the proclamation of his son as Ferdinand IV.; alliance with Piedmont; prompt co-operation in the war, the supreme command of the troops to be entrusted to General Ulloa, a Neapolitan patriot who had distinguished himself in the defence of Venice in 1849; and constitutional liberty. The Grand Duke was offended by the suggestion that he should abdicate; however, he took time to consider his answer. Meanwhile he learned that the tricolour had been hoisted over certain forts, and that the army showed no inclination to fight against the people. The Grand Duke consulted his ministers and the Austrian ambassador, and a little after mid-day he replied to Corsini that his dignity did not allow him to accept the proposed conditions, and that during the day he and all his family would leave by the Bologna road. Having assembled the diplomatic corps, he protested strongly against the violence that was being shown towards him, declared null and void everything that might be done in his absence, and asked the ambassadors whether they could ensure the safety of his departure. All the ambassadors expressed their readiness to do so, and Boncompagni, the Piedmontese representative, personally pledged himself for the Grand Duke's security, though he said the temperate and civil demeanour of the Florentine people could not be doubted.

The news that the Lorraine dynasty was leaving Florence aroused the liveliest delight among the population, which by this time was quite unanimous; for after the latest negotiations even the Moderate party was persuaded to abandon a dynasty that took its orders from Vienna. The crowd in the streets grew more and more dense. It formed into companies and surged merrily through the city, displaying tricoloured banners and carrying portraits of Victor Emmanuel, raised overhead on poles. It halted to give a special cheer beneath the windows of the Sardinian and French ambassadors. And then, since dinner-time had come, it went quietly home.

Shortly before sunset the Grand Duke and all his family set out from the Pitti Palace in state-coaches, escorted by mounted gendarmes, accompanied by many officials, and followed by the carriages of the Legations. It was the funeral of a monarchy definitely extinguished.[1]

That same evening (April 27th) the City Council of Florence, regarding itself as the sole remaining element of authority, and "desiring to meet the supreme necessity that Tuscany should not be left without a government," appointed Ubaldino Peruzzi, Vincenzo Malenchini,

[1] Leopold II. never entered Tuscany again. He died in 1870, leaving as heir to his claims his son Ferdinand, born at Florence in 1835, who died at Salzburg (Austria) in 1908. Ferdinand's eldest son, the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, was born in exile (at Salzburg), and resides at Linz (Austria).



BARONE BETTINO RICASOLI
From a contemporary print, 1860

and Alexander Danzini to rule the State provisionally. Next day this provisional government offered the dictatorship during the war to Victor Emmanuel, reserving the final arrangement till the war was ended.

The Tuscan question had not been discussed with Napoleon III. In order to avoid arousing his suspicions, Cavour declared that King Victor would merely assume the protectorate of Tuscany and the supreme command of the troops; and the King appointed as his commissioner extraordinary in Tuscany that same Carlo Boncompagni who had hitherto been his ambassador there.

Among the ministers whom Boncompagni thereupon nominated for the government of Tuscany, the Baron Bettino Ricasoli (born in 1809) soon took the lead by virtue of his intellectual vigour and force of will. Ricasoli is one of the most important figures of the Italian *Risorgimento*. Descended from the oldest feudal aristocracy, he preserved the fierce and haughty character of his line, but a close study of economics and politics had led him to accept the aspirations of his age; he had travelled much and had spent a long time abroad, and in recent years had become convinced that the solution of the Italian question lay in a general rally round Piedmont. As long ago as October, 1856, in a letter to his brother Vincenzo, he wrote:

It is essential to drive out Austria. . . . Now as no prince, save the King of Sardinia, would take action

against Austria, the first necessity is a revolution to expel all the princes—except that one who ought to remain—and thus to give Italy a robust and fruitful unity.

When he attained to power he was firmly determined to bring about the execution of this design; but among the Tuscan magnates there were still many who desired that their country should retain its autonomy. Some of them thought it possible to constitute a State of Tuscany, of which the Crown should be offered to that Prince Napoleon who had married the Princess Clotilde of Savoy. Napoleon III. seemed to regard that project with favour, but it was immediately and energetically opposed by Ricasoli and Cavour. On May 23, 1859, the fifth French army-corps, commanded by the Prince Jerome Napoleon, landed at Leghorn under the pretext of organizing the military elements of Central Italy and then harassing the Austrians on the extreme left. But the Tuscan people soon made it understood that they were looking to Victor Emmanuel II. Ricasoli, too, was actively exerting himself in the same direction. On June 12th, four days after Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan, he clearly set forth his unionist opinion in a letter to the minister Salvagnoli:

I am firm and unhesitating in the policy of Italian unity; nay, I wish that Tuscany may have the merit of reconciling the formula of the opportunists—fusion

with Piedmont, a Protectorate, and so forth—with that of Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, the title hereditary in his dynasty. This formula expels the old races, extinguishes the old Italy and makes the new—a great and real nation.

Having observed the attitude of the country, the Prince Napoleon not merely abstained from showing personal ambitions, but himself advised the annexation of Tuscany to Piedmont. Then, with the troops collected in Tuscany, he crossed the Apennines, and joined the French army just after the battle of Solferino.

. . . . . .

The outbreak of the war had caused great agitation also in the Duchies of Parma and Modena, and in the dominions of the Pope.

On May 1st the Duchess of Parma, who ruled in the name of her son Robert, fled with her children to Mantua. A provisional government was constituted, but on May 3d the ducal troops remaining in the city expelled that government and called back the Duchess, who re-entered the city on the following day. A month later, however, at the news of the battle of Magenta, the agitation in Parma reached such proportions that the Duchess again decided to leave the city (June 9th). Thereupon another provisional government was formed, which declared the act of union with Piedmont, voted by the Duchy in 1848, to

be again in force. The Count Pallieri was sent there as royal governor.

Very similar events developed in the neighbouring Duchy of Modena. On the proclamation of war, those inhabitants of Massa and Carrara whose unhappy condition Cavour had discussed with Napoleon III. at the meeting of Plombières rose at once against the Duke of Modena. It was in vain that he threatened them, for they organized themselves in military fashion and they were aided by Piedmont. When news of the battle of Magenta and the liberation of Parma reached the Duchy, even Francis V. was obliged to think of his own safety. On June 11th he set out towards Mantua, entrusting power to a regency that was speedily overthrown by the insurgent people. Here, too, a provisional government was set up, and it, likewise, proclaimed that the fusion with Piedmont enacted in 1848 was restored to validity. Cavour sent his friend Luigi Carlo Farini there as governor.[1]

At Bologna also the people rose on June 12th, expelled the Cardinal-Legate, and hoisted the tricolour; and from Bologna the revolution spread in a few days through all Romagna, and then to the Marches and Umbria. But here the movement was repressed by the papal troops. On June 20th they subjected Perugia, to the accompaniment of massacres, sackings, burnings and every kind of excess; and the impression which these brutalities created enabled them easily to

[1] Also the Houses of Parma and Modena never reconquered their Duchies.

reoccupy the other towns of Umbria and the Marches. Romagna, on the contrary, maintained its freedom and offered the dictatorship to Victor Emmanuel, who sent Massimo D'Azeglio to rule it, with the title of Commissioner for War. D'Azeglio reached Bologna on July 11th—the very day on which the bases of peace were being laid at Villafranca.

. . . . . .

The events of Central Italy showed that unionist sentiment had moved far in Italy during the last decade. Grief had brought the qualities of prudence and sagacity to maturity in the Italians. So in 1859 the populations of the peninsula avoided the errors of 1848 and 1849; there were no more discussions about the form of government, but everywhere a unanimous intention to join forces around the Liberal monarchy of Savoy. Napoleon III., on the contrary, desired the organization of an Italian confederation, over which France might always be able to make her predominance felt. Consequently he began to feel dissatisfied with the development of the Italian situation.

On the other hand the Clerical party in France, annoyed by the injury which the Italian revolution was inflicting upon the temporal power of the Pope, showed its discontent more and more openly, and of this trend of public opinion the Empress Eugénie made herself a highly zealous interpreter to the Emperor. He was receiving news also of the growing hostility of Prussia, who

seemed daily more alarmed by the French victories, and was apparently making ready to intervene in the struggle. In that event France would have been obliged to defend herself along the Rhine while the larger and better half of her troops were facing the very serious difficulties presented by the fortresses of the Italian Quadrilateral. The situation was becoming perilous—the more so as, even amid the successes of the campaign, the Emperor had discovered many defects in his army.

The awful sight of the multitude of corpses that covered the ground around Solferino and San Martino had already perturbed Napoleon III., and now this combination of reasons was leading his mind to thoughts of peace. On the evening of July 6th he wrote to the Emperor of Austria, who had retreated to Verona, proposing an armistice and a meeting. Francis Joseph agreed. On July 8th the three generals (Hess, Vaillant and Morozzo Della Rocca), representing the three armies, arranged the terms of a truce till August 15th. The meeting of the two Emperors was fixed for July 11th at Villafranca.

At the first news of these negotiations Cavour experienced bitter grief. He hurried to the camp in a state of violent irritation, and immediately on his arrival at Monzambano (July 10th) had an interview with Victor Emmanuel and counselled him not to agree to proposals of peace. The two Emperors, however, met at Villafranca. It

THE HALL AND STAIRS IN THE PALAZZO MADAMA, TURIN

From a photo by Brogi

was there settled that the Emperor of Austria should cede Lombardy to Napoleon III., who in turn would hand it over to King Victor Emmanuel II.; that the two sovereigns should favour the creation of a Confederation of the States of Italy under the honorary presidency of the Pope; that Venetia (with Mantua and Peschiera), although forming part of this Confederation, should remain under Austria. It was added that the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena should re-enter their States; but no indication of the means of their restoration was given, for Napoleon III. wished to exclude absolutely the idea of Austrian intervention, and Francis Joseph hoped that he himself might be able to re-establish them. As to Parma and Piacenza, the Emperor of Austria declared that he was unable to approve their assignment to Piedmont, but that he would not raise objections.

Napoleon III. communicated these decisions to Victor Emmanuel. The King's grief was profound; but when he passed the information on to Cavour his spirited minister gave way to an outburst of violent indignation, for he saw the edifice on which he had worked with so much assiduity, and to which he had devoted all the powers of his mind, collapsing at one blow. In vain the King tried to calm him; he allowed phrases of scanty respect to escape him; it seemed that he had lost his reason. When he saw that his remonstrances were useless he resigned. Victor

Emmanuel, although the act wrung blood from his heart, signed the treaty, but with the addition of these words: "I agree so far as it concerns me."

XVI

ITALIAN ABILITY AND ENGLISH SYMPATHY

Peace, peace, is still your word?
We say you lie then!—that is plain.
There *is* no peace, and shall be none.
Our very Dead would cry "Absurd!"
And clamour that they died in vain,
And whine to come back to the sun.

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING: *First News from Villafranca.*

CHAPTER XVI

ITALIAN ABILITY AND ENGLISH SYMPATHY

Uncertainty of the situation—Energetic action of Farini and Ricasoli, and good sense of the populations of Central Italy—Peace of Zurich—The English government favours the Italian cause—Napoleon III. and the Pope—Cavour returns to power—The question of Savoy and Nice; cession of those territories to France; Garibaldi's sorrow—The plebiscites of Tuscany and Emilia—Opening of the new Parliament.

THE first effect produced among the Italians by news of the preliminaries of Villafranca was one of grief and stupor. For, after the victory of Solferino and San Martino, they thought the final expulsion of the Austrians was easy and certain, and it seemed to them inexplicable that Napoleon III. should stop half-way. They talked of treachery, and, in the chagrin of seeing Venetia still left in subjection to Austria, they gave themselves up to imprecations against that same Emperor of the French whom a few months before they had greeted with such enthusiastic acclamations. Cavour himself was furious: "The Emperor has dishonoured me—yes, dishonoured!" he exclaimed to Kossuth and Pietri. During the few days in which he still held power, before the

formation of the new ministry, he told everyone that the peace would not be carried out, and made it understood that it was necessary, meanwhile, to prevent the restorations in Central Italy. Farini wrote to him from Modena: "If the Duke wishes to return, I treat him as an enemy of King and country; I will not allow myself to be driven away by anybody." And, by telegraph, Cavour replied: "The minister is dead; the friend clasps your hand and applauds the decision that you have taken." When the Rattazzi-La Marmora ministry had been formed, Cavour withdrew into the country for a time, feeling that even his temporary eclipse would serve the Italian cause.

The Piedmontese government was obliged, of course, to recall the governors who had been sent to Parma, Modena, Bologna and Florence; but, before they relinquished power, these governors took care that it should be entrusted to men who were firmly resolved to resist any restoration. At Modena, in fact, Farini, while announcing that he was no longer royal commissioner, accepted the dictatorship offered to him by the citizens, and began vigorously to collect forces in order to prevent Francis V.'s attempting, from Mantua, a reoccupation of the State. Then the inhabitants of the Duchy of Parma also offered him the dictatorship, and Farini resolutely accepted it. Romagna at first appointed the Tuscan Leonetto Cipriani as governor, but afterwards, seeing that

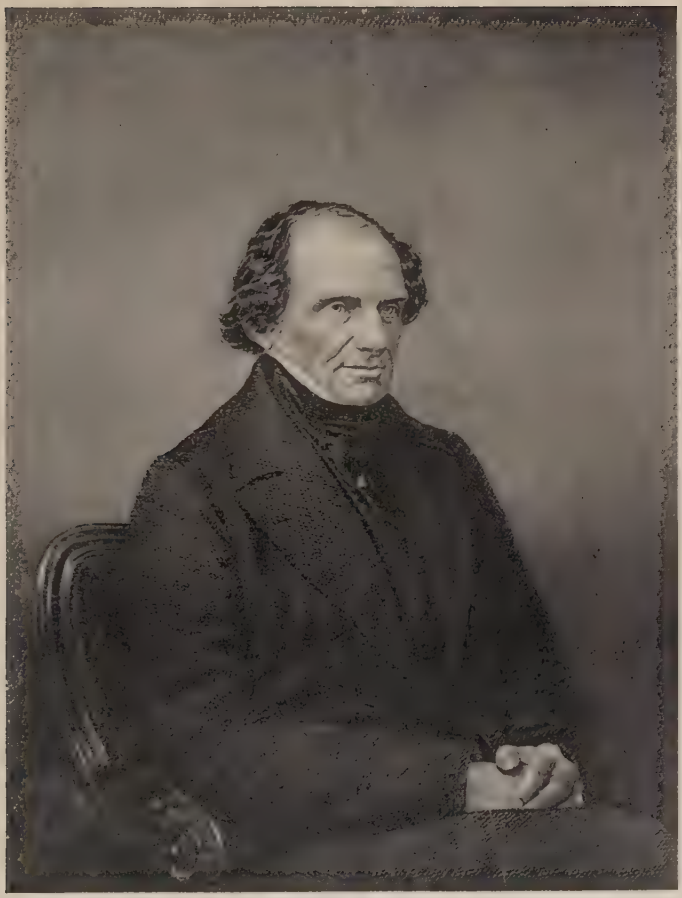
he was too much devoted to Napoleon III., induced him to renounce office, and offered the dictatorship to Farini, who accepted it without delay. Thus the government of all Emilia was concentrated in the hands of a single energetic, daring man, who knew how to surmount the grave difficulties of the situation.

In Tuscany, the Baron Bettino Ricasoli assumed the direction of the government after Boncompagni had withdrawn, and he began with firmness and resolution to carry out the programme of the union of the Italian peoples under Victor Emmanuel. While political Assemblies were being convoked in Emilia and Tuscany, Farini thought it opportune to unite the military forces, and on August 10th he succeeded in concluding a military league of the four States. The supreme command was given to the General Manfredo Fanti, who speedily organized an army of forty thousand men. Meantime the four political Assemblies (elected on a Liberal franchise and embracing the most distinguished citizens) which had met at Florence, Bologna, Modena and Parma, were proclaiming afresh the fall of the old governments and annexation to Victor Emmanuel's kingdom. And this imposing movement was all developing amid calm and order—a fact which served to make the world realize the good sense of those Italian peoples and their confidence in the two Dictators.

The dispossessed Princes protested, naturally. The Cabinet of Vienna threatened to break off

the negotiations that had been opened at Zurich for the definite conclusion of peace. Napoleon III. himself disliked the way Italian affairs were moving. He desired the union of Parma and Piacenza to Piedmont; he might have brought himself to approve the annexation of Modena also; and he hoped to solve the question of Romagna, although this was complicated by his relations with the Pope. But he was strongly opposed to the annexation of Tuscany. "If annexation passed the Apennines," he observed to the Marquis Pepoli on July 15th, "the unity of Italy would be achieved. And I do not desire her unity, but only her independence, because unity would involve me in internal perils by reason of Rome, and France would not be pleased to see the rise, on her flank, of a great nation that might be able to diminish her influence." In such circumstances the Rattazzi-La Marmora ministry, afraid of taking a wrong step, moved with timidity and uncertainty, neither able to refuse the offered annexations, nor daring to accept them. Meantime the final treaties of peace were signed at Zurich on November 10th. The terms fixed at Villafranca were rehearsed in them, though without any reference either to confederation or to restoration of the dispossessed Princes, these subjects being reserved for a future congress.

It now seemed to Cavour that the Piedmontese government ought to proceed with greater daring.



LORD JOHN RUSSELL
From the engraving by D. J. Pound
After the photo by Mayall

By this time the fury aroused in his mind by the terrible disillusionment of Villafranca had subsided, and he judged the position more calmly: "We have followed one road; it is now cut off. Well, we shall take another." The new way was to rely on England and to exploit the rivalry of the two Western Powers.

. . . . . .

In England the Conservative ministry had fallen during the preceding June. Lord Palmerston had again come into power, and had entrusted the portfolio of foreign affairs to Lord John Russell. These two men, who on other occasions had already shown their sympathy for the Italian cause, now took a very prominent part in assuring its triumph. In that work they were powerfully aided by Sir James Hudson, the English ambassador at Turin, who was an enthusiastic admirer of Cavour. Moreover, the anxieties aroused in England by the successes of Napoleon III., which had greatly contributed to the decline of England's sympathy for Italy during the war, were by this time at an end; England, in fact, was observing with pleasure the dissatisfaction of the Italians with Napoleon III. And the country's interests led the English government to favour the Italian national movement, in the hope of withdrawing the new kingdom from French influence.

In view of the calm but inflexible attitude of Central Italy, and the favour which England was

showing for the Italian cause, Napoleon III. felt convinced that it was no longer possible to prevent the annexations. Moreover, he was now offended with the Pope, who was unwilling to take his advice and give up the rebel provinces. Their relations were embittered because in *The Pope and the Congress*, a pamphlet published at Paris under the Emperor's inspiration, it was plainly said that the city of Rome and the Patrimony of St. Peter were sufficient for the independence of the Holy See. Pius IX. had publicly declared that pamphlet to be "a notable monument of hypocrisy and a tissue of ignoble contradictions," and he had given a negative answer to Napoleon III.'s fresh solicitations. Napoleon III. now thought it suited him better to desist from opposition to the Italian policy, so that he might at least gain some advantage from it. To facilitate this plan he, early in January, dismissed the Minister Walewski, who had all along been hostile to Italy, and put Thouvenel in his place.

The moment had come when Italy must act with great energy; but everybody felt that only Cavour's strong hand could steer the ship into port amid so many perils, and he himself was impatient to recover power in order to gratify the righteous ambition of securing his country's future. On January 20, 1860, King Victor Emmanuel, suppressing his personal resentment towards the too spirited minister, again entrusted him with the Presidency of the Council and the

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON
From the engraving by D. J. Pound
After the photo by Mayall

Home and Foreign Ministries. At once Cavour gave a bolder turn to the policy of Piedmont; he sent to all the Powers a Circular, in which he declared that it was by this time impossible for King Victor Emmanuel to resist the natural and necessary movement of events. Then, in order to persuade Napoleon III. to desist from all opposition, he put before him the idea of submitting the question of annexation to a plebiscite of the populations of Central Italy. Naturally Napoleon III., who had risen to the imperial throne by this very method of a plebiscite, was unable to deny the value of such a test in Italy. But he saw that France was discontented because the blood that she had poured out in Italy seemed to have brought her no advantage, and therefore he claimed some compensation. The cession of Savoy to France had been agreed upon in the meeting of Plombières, the question of Nice being left in suspense. Only the war had ended without the formation of that Kingdom of Upper Italy, from the Alps to the Adriatic, which had been the subject of negotiation, and consequently the cessions to France had been no longer mentioned. Now, however, if the annexation of Central Italy came about, Victor Emmanuel would have a kingdom of eleven million inhabitants—as large as that provided for him at Plombières. In order to bind Napoleon to the destinies of Italy, Cavour offered him Savoy, but the Emperor demanded Nice also, and it was necessary to yield to his

claims, though it was stipulated that for Savoy and Nice also there should be the test of a plebiscite.[1]

. . . . . .

The treaty by which Savoy, the cradle of the ruling dynasty, and Nice, Garibaldi's native place, were ceded to France was signed at Turin in the office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on March 24, 1860. Cavour paced up and down the room while the treaty was being read—his hands in his pockets, his head bowed, his aspect one of great preoccupation. But when he had made his signature his countenance cleared, and rubbing his hands (as his habit was when things were going well) he went up to the French Minister and said to him: "And now we are accomplices, are n't we?" The phrase exactly expressed the situation in which that agreement was placing the French government.

Grievously wounded in his most intimate affections by this cession, Joseph Garibaldi uttered violent words against Cavour in Parliament; but the Chamber, though respecting the great hero's grief, approved the treaty, for it was a necessity of the moment. Cavour assumed all the responsibility for it:

The cession of Nice and Savoy [he declared] was an essential condition of the prosecution of that

[1] The plebiscite in Savoy and in the district of Nice took place on April 15th and 22d. It showed an enormous majority in favour of annexation to France.

policy which in so short a time has brought us to Milan, Florence, Bologna. . . . Popularity is as dear to us as ever, and moreover in many circumstances my colleagues and I have tasted that sometimes intoxicating beverage; but we know how to renounce this popularity in so far as our duty imposes renunciation upon us. In signing this treaty we had a firm conviction that an enormous unpopularity would descend upon us, but we faced it because we were persuaded that by so acting we were serving the interests of Italy.

They are noble words, and they show Cavour's intense devotion to the idea of duty.

. . . . . .

Meantime the plebiscite was taken in Central Italy on the question: *Union to the constitutional monarchy of Victor Emmanuel* or *a separate kingdom?* In Tuscany there were 366,571 votes for union, and 14,925 for a separate kingdom; in the Duchies of Parma and Modena and in Romagna, 426,006 votes for union, and 756 for a separate kingdom—results which showed the almost unanimous will of the people. These provinces were forthwith declared integral parts of the kingdom.

The fallen sovereigns naturally entered their protests, and the Pope hurled excommunication against the men who had planned and co-operated in the annexation of Romagna to the Sardinian kingdom; but these protests did not in the least perturb the delighted Italians; and the general

election which was held at that time resulted in a great victory for the Cavour ministry.[1]

On April 2, 1860, in opening the new Parliament, where Deputies from Lombardy and Central Italy sat beside those of the old provinces, King Victor Emmanuel greeted "the representatives of the rights and hopes of the nation." But though hopes were bold and faith in the future was warm, reality was by far to exceed expectation. A few days went by, and the national movement passed even to the South of Italy, like an avalanche that sweeps all before it.

[1] The number of Deputies in the Subalpine Parliament had been two hundred and four; after the conquest of Lombardy, and the annexation of Central Italy, it was raised to three hundred and eighty-seven.

XVII

THE HEROIC ENTERPRISE OF THE "THOUSAND"

E tu ridevi, stella di Venere,
stella d'Italia, stella di Cesare:
non mai primavera più sacra
d'animi italici illuminasti,

da quando ascese tacita il Tevere
d'Enea la prora d'avvenir gravida
e cadde Pallante appo i clivi
che sorger videro l'alta Roma.

CARDUCCI: *Scoglio di Quarto.*[1]

[1] And thou didst smile, star of Venus, star of Italy, star of Cæsar: never hast thou shone upon a spring more hallowed to Italian hearts since Æneas's bark, heavy with fate, did silently ascend the Tiber, and Pallas fell among the hills that watched the rise of mighty Rome.

CHAPTER XVII

THE HEROIC ENTERPRISE OF THE "THOUSAND"

Cavour and the unity of Italy—Preparation of the expedition of the *Thousand;* Cavour's doubts and fears; his favourable decision—Landing of Garibaldi at Marsala and his victories in Sicily—Vain concessions by King Francis II.—Garibaldi enters Naples in triumph—Victor Emmanuel's army occupies the Marches and Umbria—Military glory and political success—Lord John Russell's eulogies—Italy constitutes herself a nation without any sacrifice of liberty.

IT has been much discussed whether Cavour all along had the idea of Italian unity before his mind. This was certainly the dream that ever allured him, but before 1859 he did not know whether its realization would be possible in so short a time. During his first conversation with Joseph La Farina, in September, 1856, he said:

I have faith that Italy will become a single State, and that she will have Rome for her capital, but I do not know whether she is prepared for this great transformation, since I have no knowledge of the other Italian provinces. I am minister of the King of Sardinia, and I am not able, nor ought I, to say or do anything that may prematurely compromise the dynasty. Create the *National Society;* if the Italians

show themselves ripe for unity, I have hope that the opportunity will not be long in coming.

Thus he was even then preparing the ground for a bolder advance in case circumstances should allow it to be made. But he did not believe that the opportunity would be reached so soon; perhaps he would even have wished the national movement to be less rapid, in order that he might have time to organize the newly constituted Kingdom of Upper Italy. But the events of Northern and Central Italy had a speedy and powerful effect in the South. Liberal demonstrations on a small scale were made in many towns. On November 27th Maniscalco, chief of police, was seriously wounded on the threshold of the Cathedral of Palermo, and the authorities never succeeded in arresting the assassin. Francesco Crispi, the Sicilian exile, went secretly to his native island to gain a thorough knowledge of the state of men's minds and to keep alive the hopes of the patriots. In his turn Cavour, whose finger was on the pulse of the public, and who realized that to continue to direct the revolution it was necessary to be in the middle of it, wrote on March 30, 1860, to Villamarina, the Piedmontese ambassador at Naples, in order to obtain a precise idea of the position there:

Evidently events of great importance are developing in the South of Italy. . . . You know that I have

FRANCESCO CRISPI
From a photo by Alinari

not the least desire to thrust forward a premature solution of the Neapolitan question. I believe, on the contrary, it would be more convenient for us that the present condition of things should last for, say, a year longer. But I have it from a good source that England herself despairs of the maintenance of the *status quo*. . . . Hence I believe that we shall very soon be forced to devise a plan which I would rather have had time to mature.

In fact, a few days later (April 4th) insurrection broke out at Palermo. Within the city, the insurgents were subdued by the royal troops, and thirteen of the arrested rebels were put to death. But bands of Liberals continued to scour the country districts, and tumults arose in some of the most important towns of the island, such as Messina and Catania. Rosalino Pilo, a daring Sicilian, landed in Sicily at that time, with the object of keeping the insurrection on foot. He had set out from Genoa with a few companions, on March 25th, to call his compatriots to arms.

No sooner did the first news of the Sicilian insurrection reach Upper Italy, than the organization of a force in aid of the insurgents was projected. Garibaldi was invited to lead the enterprise, but he was undecided, fearing that it would prove as ill-advised as the expedition of Sapri. It was on the evening of April 12th at Turin, after leaving the sitting of the Chamber in which the treaty for the cession of his native Nice to France had been approved, that he first adopted the idea

of the expedition. He went off then to the Villa Spinola at Quarto, near Genoa, to watch over the preparations. Gloomy news, coming unexpectedly from Sicily, gave the impression that the insurrection was already crushed, and at that moment (April 27th) Garibaldi declared that it would be folly to go; but on April 30th he allowed himself to be convinced afresh by the ardent words of Nino Bixio, and of Francesco Crispi, who had procured reassuring accounts of the Sicilian movement.

If thoughts so contradictory agitated Garibaldi's mind in those days, it is not strange that Cavour felt doubts and fears as to the attitude to be assumed. For him, the minister of a sovereign who was at peace with the King of the Two Sicilies, and who had already encountered the disapproval of a great part of Europe by reason of the annexation of Central Italy, the problem was much more complex than it was for Garibaldi. So that even he was obliged, just then, to show contradictory intentions—a fact which very well explains the diverse judgments pronounced, at that time and afterwards, upon this episode of his political life.

Cavour had no scruples as to his behaviour towards the King of Naples, whom he knew to be in close alliance with the Pope and Austria, to Piedmont's detriment; and as soon as the Sicilian insurrection had broken out, he thought of sending aid to the rebels, and with that object summoned

THE HEADQUARTERS OF GARIBALDI AT QUARTO

From a photo by Alinari

General Ribotti (who in 1848 commanded a brigade of Sicilian revolutionaries) to Turin. But while Ribotti was hastening to Turin from Rimini, where he was at that time stationed, Cavour learned of the solicitations which had been brought to bear upon Garibaldi from other quarters. He readily understood that Garibaldi was the one man who had the prestige necessary for carrying out the great undertaking, and consequently he sent Ribotti back to Rimini. As it was impossible for him to open direct relations with Garibaldi, whose hot indignation he had aroused by the cession of Nice, he charged La Farina to concert a plan with La Masa. These two Sicilian exiles, certain that they were following the minister's wishes, put themselves under Garibaldi's orders from April 20th.

At the beginning of the year Garibaldi, with the permission of the government, had opened a public subscription for the purchasing of a million rifles. In this way, twelve thousand rifles had already been got together. They were now at Milan. Garibaldi gave orders for them to be sent to Genoa, where the volunteers for the expedition were being assembled; but Massimo D'Azeglio, who was Governor of Milan, and whose straightforwardness prevented him from approving a policy of intrigue, feared to assume so grave a responsibility, and prevented the rifles from leaving Milan. Cavour, of course, was unable to overrule this embargo without compromising

the government, and Joseph La Farina undertook to supply muskets belonging to the *National Society*.[1]

Cavour naturally feared an unsuccessful issue to the expedition, and was apprehensive of the disastrous consequences in which such a catastrophe might involve the national movement, now so well on its way. Hence it was that he, too, had his moments of inconsistency. At Genoa, on April 23d, he said to Sirtori, who had come to lay before him the plan of the expedition: "When it is a question of undertakings like this, however bold they may be, the Count di Cavour will be second to nobody." Yet that same evening, when he reached Turin, he decided (perhaps by reason of the bad news received from Sicily) to send Colonel Frappolli to Garibaldi for the purpose of trying to dissuade him.

On the night of April 30th Cavour learned that Garibaldi had definitely decided to set out. The King, who had been informed of the preparation of the expedition and regarded it with sympathy, was then in Emilia, whither he had gone to visit officially the new cities of his kingdom. On May 1st Cavour went to Bologna to meet him, and there King and minister agreed in the idea of allowing the expedition to complete its prepara-

[1] It has often been stated that Cavour purposely caused bad muskets to be given to the Garibaldini, but Trevelyan (*Garibaldi and The Thousand*, c. x) justly observes: "In all probability Cavour did not know that the weapons of the National Society were bad, since even Garibaldi, who had been President of the Society, only found that out when he saw them unpacked."

tions and to set out. Then, as though he wished by his distance from the capital to avoid the embarrassments which diplomacy would not fail to create for him, Cavour accompanied the King to Modena, and returned to Turin only on the evening of the 5th, just when the Garibaldian volunteers were on the point of embarking.

. . . . . .

The departure of that fine band of valiant men was no secret to anyone except the government authorities. Garibaldi had arranged with Fauché, agent for the Rubattino Company, to have at his disposal the two steamships *Lombardo* and *Piemonte*, but it was necessary to pretend to capture them in the harbour of Genoa. During the night of May 5th, therefore, Nino Bixio, at the head of a little group of men, boarded the two vessels, took possession of them, and brought them to the neighbouring village of Quarto, where the volunteers embarked just as dawn was breaking. About twelve hundred men had responded to Garibaldi's invitation. They belonged in great part to the bourgeoisie; they came from every quarter of the peninsula; and they were all animated by the loftiest of enthusiasms. As Trevelyan truly says: "Too rarely does an emotion like this, pure of self-interest and far above blind race-hatred, sweep along with it a whole people, lifting common men into an atmosphere which they seldom breathe, and never breathe for long."[1]

[1] *Op. cit.*, c. x.

Garibaldi made first for the Strait of Piombino, where he was joined by a band of Tuscan volunteers with whom he had made an appointment for that spot. On the morning of the 7th he anchored off Talamone. By the diplomatic ability of the Hungarian colonel Türr, who was taking part in the expedition, he obtained from the Piedmontese commander of the neighbouring fortress of Orbetello the munitions that were necessary, and a few small cannon, long out of date. While organizing his volunteers in companies, Garibaldi thought fit to send a detachment of some sixty men to threaten the Papal States, and so to divert the attention of the Powers and give an impression that the expedition was directed against the Pope. Ten days later these volunteers passed the papal frontier, but they were attacked near Acquapendente by the papal gendarmes and speedily took refuge in Tuscany, where the Italian government disarmed them. Some of them afterwards rejoined Garibaldi in Sicily.

On the morning of May 9th the *Lombardo* and the *Piemonte* weighed anchor at Talamone and resumed their voyage towards Sicily, holding away, however, from the ordinary route so as to elude the Bourbon vessels which stood across it with the intention of preventing the expected disembarkation. They sighted Sicily on May 11th; they were then off Marsala. Garibaldi had at first meant to land in the neighbourhood of

Sciacca; instead he decided to attempt the disembarkation at once, so as to avoid the risk of discovery that would be run by sailing some distance round the island. On entering the harbour of Marsala he found two English warships—the *Argus* and the *Intrepid*, detached from the Palermo squadron to protect British interests. Two Neapolitan cruisers had left the harbour a little before, for the express purpose of watching the coasts. In less than two hours a great part of the Garibaldini disembarked, under the intelligent direction of Türr; but suddenly the two Neapolitan cruisers hove into sight, and no sooner got within range than they began a bombardment of the Garibaldian vessels, and of the shore where the volunteers had landed. Their grape-shot, however, scarcely even passed the line of the mole, so that it served merely to strike terror into the population of the city without doing grave damage. The captain of one of the English warships went on board one of the Bourbon cruisers, and called upon her commander to respect the English warehouses and buildings, over all of which the British flag was flying; and during this short interval even the remaining volunteers landed from their ships, with all their munitions. Thus the Bourbon sailors had to content themselves with leading away captive the empty *Piemonte;* the *Lombardo* had foundered and was left in the harbour.

At daybreak next morning the *Thousand* marched to Salemi, where Garibaldi published a

proclamation to the effect that he assumed the dictatorship of Sicily in Victor Emmanuel's name. It was there that the first bands of the Sicilian insurgents hastened to him. But between him and the capital there stood a Bourbon army much more numerous than his, and better armed. On May 15th he boldly attacked it at Calatafimi. The Bourbonists held a good strategic position, and they resisted so stoutly that at one point Nino Bixio, though second to one alone of the *Thousand* in courage, turned to Garibaldi and said: "I fear we shall have to retreat." Garibaldi's answer was resolute: "Here we make Italy or die!" For he saw that a retreat would have meant the end of the enterprise. In the end the volunteers managed to win the hilltop, and the defeated enemy beat a hasty retreat to Palermo. Garibaldi pursued them in his turn, but when he came within sight of the capital he manœuvred cleverly round the hills which encircle the city, and enticed a great part of the garrison to come out and follow in pursuit.[1] Then, eluding them, he led the pick of his men along difficult by-ways to Palermo, and on May 27th forced his way victoriously into the city with a gallant bayonet charge. He occupied the most important points of the city, while the Bourbons bombarded the chief streets from the castle and the fleet. Aided by the population of

[1] Rosalino Pilo, who had hurried with his companions to join the Garibaldian bands, lost his life in the skirmishing of those days between the Garibaldini and the Bourbon troops.

NINO BIXIO
From a photograph

Palermo, the volunteers threw up barricades and offered a front to the enemy, who after some days of fierce fighting saw that they must ask for an armistice, and on June 7th abandoned Palermo.

While the *Thousand* were achieving these miracles of daring, Cavour was engaged in the less attractive task of frustrating the efforts of European diplomacy, which was intent on putting a stop to the revolution. But when events had developed he was able to act more openly. After the taking of Palermo he was liberal in assistance; on June 9th another expedition set out from Genoa, under the leadership of Medici.

By this time the revolution had spread all through the island. The Bourbon troops were concentrated at Milazzo. After receiving further reinforcements brought up by Cosenz, Garibaldi marched to attack them and won a fresh victory (July 20th).

From the first, King Francis II. had violently protested against the conduct of the Piedmontese government, which he declared to be an accomplice of these acts of "savage piracy." Afterwards, in the hope of yet saving his throne, he brought himself to grant a constitution and to promise that he would make an alliance with Piedmont, though nobody believed in the sincerity of his promises. However, King Victor Emmanuel, to make a show of complying with the desires of Napoleon III., whose ill-humour had been excited by the turn of events, was obliged to write an official letter to

Garibaldi, inviting him to refrain from passing the straits. But at the same time Cavour sent word to Garibaldi, through Admiral Persano, that the enterprise could not stop half-way; in fact, feeling no scruple in hastening the fall of a dynasty which had always employed perfidy against the Liberals and had shown itself fiercely hostile to the House of Savoy, he even tried to make the insurrection break out in Neapolitan territory before Garibaldi got there.

During the night of August 19th Garibaldi crossed the Straits of Messina and landed in Calabria, while the rumble of revolution was heard in the Basilicata. A dry-rot had spread through all the State; the troops sent against Garibaldi dispersed; revolutionary committees arose on every side and made themselves masters of the administration; that corrupt and corrupting government which had been so vigorously described by Gladstone melted away miserably. Garibaldi, leaving his troops behind and accompanied only by a few officers, advanced rapidly towards Naples—acclaimed by the people as their liberator. King Francis II. left Naples on the evening of September 6th, and withdrew to Gaeta; and at mid-day on the 7th Garibaldi made his triumphant entry into the capital.

. . . . . .

With the successes of Garibaldi synchronized new audacities on the part of Cavour; he induced

the King to carry out the enterprise of the Marches and Umbria. Already during the war of the previous year these provinces had rebelled against the Pope, to the cry of *Long Live Victor Emmanuel!* But the movement had been repressed; in fact the Pope had strengthened himself by enlisting soldiers from all parts of Europe, whom he put under the command of the French general Lamoricière. The excesses to which these troops readily abandoned themselves made the situation still more strained, especially as the minds of the patriots were excited by the news of the adventure of the *Thousand.* On September 7th, the very day on which Garibaldi entered Naples, the Piedmontese government sent an ambassador to Rome to inform the Pope that Victor Emmanuel's heart could not be insensible to the massacres which the papal troops were daily committing in the Marches, and that if those mercenary forces were not disbanded he would feel constrained to intervene in favour of the inhabitants. On September 11th, even before the receipt of the Pope's very bitter reply, the Italian troops, commanded by General Fanti, crossed the border.

The papal army was defeated by General Cialdini at Castelfidardo on September 18th. Thereupon Lamoricière shut himself up in Ancona, which was besieged by land and blockaded by sea, and on the 29th of the same month was forced

to capitulate.[1] Thus in less than twenty days was carried out an undertaking which not only served to unite Romagna to Naples, but also gave the monarchy the prestige necessary for it to proceed with the direction of the revolution.

While the King was taking up the command of these troops, and at their head was passing from the Marches into the Abruzzi, the last and bloodiest battle between the Garibaldian volunteers and the Bourbon troops was being fought (October 1st and 2d) on the banks of the Volturno. By this time the Garibaldini numbered twenty-four thousand men. The troops who still remained faithful to the Bourbon had been concentrated, to the number of fifty thousand, around Capua. It was a fiercely contested battle, but in the end victory favoured the Garibaldini. A few days later the inhabitants of Naples and Sicily, assembling for a plebiscite, declared almost unanimously their desire for union with the monarchy of Victor Emmanuel.[2]

Thus fell the Bourbon Kingdom of Naples.

[1] The plebiscite of the Marches and Umbria was taken on November 4 and 5, 1860. To the question, "Do you wish to form a part of the constitutional monarchy of King Victor Emmanuel II.?" 133,807 replied "Yes," and 1,212 "No" in the Marches; in Umbria 97,040 "Yes," and 380 "No."

[2] In Sicily, 432,053 voted for union, and 667 against; in Naples, 1,302,064 in favour, and 10,312 against. The people of the Principality of Benevento also took part in this plebiscite; the Principality was thus withdrawn from the Government of the Pope.

Amid the general mistrust of Europe, England alone applauded the work of the revolution. In a Note written just at that time (October 27th), and sent to Hudson, the English ambassador at Turin, Lord John Russell, after recalling the Neapolitan revolutions of 1820 and 1848, proceeded: "What wonder . . . that in 1860 the Neapolitans, full of mistrust and resentment, should throw off the Bourbons, as in 1688 England had thrown off the Stuarts?" And he concluded his argument with these words:

> It must be acknowledged . . . that the Italian revolution has been conducted with singular temper and forbearance. The subversion of constituted authority has not been followed, as is too often the case, by an outburst of popular vengeance. The extreme views of democrats have nowhere prevailed. Public opinion has checked the excesses of the public triumph. The venerated forms of constitutional monarchy have been associated with the name of a Prince who represents an ancient and glorious dynasty.
>
> Having examined the causes and attendant circumstances of the revolution of Italy, Her Majesty's government can see no sufficient ground for the severe censure with which Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia have visited the acts of the King of Sardinia. Her Majesty's government will turn their eyes rather to the gratifying prospect of a people building up the edifice of their liberties, and consolidating the work of their independence, amid the sympathies and good wishes of Europe.

Victor Emmanuel, advancing from the Tronto towards Naples amid the acclamations of the people, met Garibaldi on October 26th, near Teano in the province of Caserta. The popular idol hastened to the meeting, saluted Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy, and then, in the true manner of an epic hero, withdrew to Caprera, leaving the King to complete the work that he had so gloriously begun. Francis II. made his last stand at Gaeta. On February 12, 1861, after a siege by land and sea, he went on board a French vessel left at his disposal by Napoleon III., and took refuge in the Papal States.[1] Next day Gaeta surrendered.

. . . . . .

Amid the enormous difficulties of those times—difficulties increased at home by disputes with Garibaldi, who wished to delay the annexations until the completion of national unity, and abroad by the constant threat of Austrian aggression—Cavour was strongly urged from every quarter to demand full powers and assume a sort of dictatorship. A loyal worshipper of Liberty, he refused to apostatize from his goddess. "I think," he said in a letter of October, 1860, "it will not be Italy's last title to glory, that she has known how to make herself a nation without

[1] Francis II. lived at Rome till 1870, and afterwards went to Austria. He died on December 27, 1894, leaving no descendants. His claims were then assumed by his brother Alfonso, Count di Caserta, who resides at Cannes, in France.

MEETING OF VICTOR EMMANUEL II. WITH GARIBALDI
From the painting by Pietro Aldi in the Palazzo della Signoria, Siena
From a photo by Alinari

sacrificing liberty to independence." A few days later he confirmed this opinion in these words:

An experience of thirteen years has convinced me that an honest and energetic ministry, which has nothing to fear from the searchlight of publicity, and refuses to be intimidated by the violence of extreme parties, has everything to gain by Parliamentary struggles. I have never felt so weak as when the Chamber has been closed.

This was one of his most abiding and cherished convictions. Joseph Massari tells us how Cavour, in a conversation with a friend in April, 1857, expressed his ideas on the subject in the following lucid sentences:

Parliamentary government, like other forms of government, has its inconveniences, but in spite of those inconveniences it is better than any other. I lose patience with some kinds of opposition, and repel them with spirit; but on reflection I congratulate myself upon them, for they oblige me to explain my ideas better, and to redouble my efforts in order to win the concurrence of general opinion. An absolute minister commands; a constitutional minister, to be obeyed, has need to persuade—and I wish to persuade others that I am in the right. Believe me, the worst of Chambers is still preferable to the most brilliant of the antechambers of sovereigns.

And when, by means of the plebiscite, he had secured the annexation of Southern Italy, this statesman, who loved discussion and had faith in the triumph of truth, hastened to convoke the first Italian Parliament.

XVIII

THE PROCLAMATION OF THE KINGDOM OF ITALY

O surta negli amari
Tramiti dell'esilio, o de' sepulti
Tra l'urne in sospettose ombre nudrita;
Chi nel dolor t'è pari?
Chi nella gloria? A' barbari tumulti
Nel sol delle battaglie a pena uscita,
Tu pugni e vinci, t'addimostri e regni,
E novo ordin di tempi al mondo insegni.

G. CARDUCCI: *Per la proclamazione del regno d'Italia.*[1]

[1] O thou who hast arisen in the thorny paths of exile, or been nurtured among the dead within the urns amid the shadows of distrust, who is thine equal in sorrow? Or who in glory? Scarce gone forth to the fierce tumults of the day of battles, thou art conquering in the fight; thy voice and thy rule tell the world of a new age.—*For the Proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy.*

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PROCLAMATION OF THE KINGDOM OF ITALY

Opening of the first Italian Parliament—Proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy—Indignation of Austria and of the Pope—Cavour and the reconstruction of the Ministry—First seeds sown for the conquest of Venetia.

WITHIN less than two years, the little State of Piedmont had been transformed into a kingdom of twenty-two million inhabitants, and to the eyes of the whole civilized world—still full of surprise, even of amazement—there suddenly appeared the radiant figure of an Italy risen again to a new life.

On February 18, 1861, the first Italian Parliament assembled at Turin. All the most illustrious personalities of the peninsula sat in it.[1] In his inaugural address King Victor Emmanuel devoted some special words of gratitude to England:

> The government and people of England, that ancient home of liberty, nobly affirmed our right to be the arbiters of our own fate, and they were liberal to us in their good offices, the grateful memory of which will endure imperishably.

[1] After the latest annexations the number of Deputies had been raised to four hundred and forty-three.

Though he ruled over most of Italy, Victor Emmanuel, officially, was simply King of Sardinia. Hence one of the first acts of the government was to bring before Parliament a Bill to declare Victor Emmanuel King of Italy. The Bill reflected the general wish, and it met with no opposition, though a few criticisms on points of form were offered. In the Senate, Pareto suggested that the initiative ought to have come from the country and not from the government, so that the title might seem to have been given rather than assumed; and that it would be better for Victor Emmanuel to be called King of the Italians than King of Italy. Cavour replied that the government had only been the mouthpiece of the nation; "the initiative has been taken by the people, which at this hour has already saluted, and intends always to salute, Victor Emmanuel II. as King of Italy." He added that the title King of Italy was preferable "because it consecrates the fact that Italy has become a nation —that this (I might say) despised and neglected country, whose existence as a body politic was insolently denied by nearly all the politicians of Europe, has been transformed into the Kingdom of Italy."

In the Chamber of Deputies, the opposition, besides making comments similar to those of Pareto in the Senate, expressed disapproval of the phrase "by the grace of God" which occurred in the proposed inscription of the decrees, and they objected also that the King ought to be described as Victor Emmanuel I. But the ministers replied

All' Ill.mo Signore
Il Signore Bottero
Deputato al Parlamento
Torino

Preg. Sig.re

Le mando qui consegnata una lettera
per Farini; ho cercato di ricomandarla [illegible]
che una reazione si opererà in lui, e che
lo ritroverà quale era a Bologna quando
nel suo ardire, la sua devozione, nella
causa nazionale salvava l'Italia da
inevitabile reazione. Se ciò accade
Farini è tal uomo da potere rimediare
i commessi errori e riedificare il carro
dello stato che pende sull'orlo del
precipizio. Ma se per una deplorabile

that although the old phrase "by the grace of God" was preserved out of respect for the sentiments of a large part of the country, the words "by the will of the nation" had been added by way of asserting the popular sovereignty; and that in the House of Savoy, when changes of title had been made, from Counts to Dukes and from Dukes to Kings, it had not been the custom to alter the numeral: thus the first Duke had retained the name Amadeus VIII. and the first King that of Victor Amadeus II. Moreover it was known that the King wished to preserve both the phrase and the number in his titles; consequently the opposition offered no great resistance. On March 14th (the King's birthday) the two hundred and ninety-four Deputies present in the Chamber unanimously passed the Bill, amid the hearty cheers of the Deputies themselves and of the public in the galleries.

. . . . . .

It must have been with emotion that the King, on March 17, 1861, put his signature to the new decree:

VICTOR EMMANUEL II
By the grace of God
King of Sardinia, of Cyprus, and of Jerusalem
Duke of Savoy and of Genoa
Prince of Piedmont, etc., etc.

The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies have approved,

We sanction and promulgate, the following:—

Article one: Victor Emmanuel II. assumes for himself and his successors the title of King of Italy.

Only twelve years had passed since the day when he received the ancient crown of Savoy on the bloody field of Novara. Surely at that moment there must have appeared before his mind the sad figure of Charles Albert, who from his youth up had cherished ambitious dreams of glory, but had found them issue in nothing save disillusions, bitternesses, misfortunes. Perhaps he recalled, too, the difficult beginnings of his own reign. With just pride he could review his past. For he had known how to resist reactionary temptations; he had completely understood his times and Piedmont's mission; and in consequence he had won the enthusiastic devotion of his country. Now the whole Italian people acclaimed and blessed him. He was in the prime of life—forty-one years old. Below the average in height, rather stout and bull-necked, his face distinguished by those heavy moustaches which had become proverbial, he certainly was not a handsome man. But common sympathies made his countenance dear to all; in it everyone read clearly that honesty of will and uprightness of purpose which had won for him the name *Re Galantuomo*.

The proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy had naturally aroused the violent indignation of Austria and the Pope. In an article published on March 16th the *Gazzetta di Venezia*, a faithful exponent of the views of the Austrian authorities, referred to the ancient iron crown which in 1859 was carried from Monza to Vienna, and proceeded:

"In order to have the crown of the true Kings of Italy, with their rights and with the prestige of an unbroken past and of an unfailing future, it is necessary to come and seize it." And it ended with these words:

If the hour should come—and it can, nay will, come—for the final rendering of accounts, it would gratify us exceedingly that the ever-welcome Victor should attend before a European congress (a tribunal Emmanuel II., of the respectable race of Savoy, smaller than the populace, but more competent and more serious), and should there beg once more, as in 1815, to retain at least the inheritance of his ancestors. In that case, as a wholesome hint to himself and his successors in the honourable assertion of royal sway, it would not be unfitting to preserve to them the title of King of Italy, side by side with those, which they have always retained, of King of Cyprus and King of Jerusalem.

The same insolence towards the House of Savoy was shown, a few days later, by the Jesuit review, the *Civiltà Cattolica:* "The Act, however, does not say for how long the King will assume this title, or whether he intends to assume it as he does the old titles of King of Cyprus and King of Jerusalem." As to the phrase "by the grace of God," the *Civiltà Cattolica* added: "It is a mockery of God to pretend that by His grace the legitimate Princes could be despoiled, her patrimony taken from the Church, and the temporal power from the Vicar of Jesus Christ."

But if at Rome and Venice the ruling powers spoke in this fashion, the peoples of both regions, though tortured by the consciousness that they were still severed from their great common mother, welcomed the proclamation of the new kingdom as a sure promise of speedy restoration.

Meanwhile England, ever favourable to the Italian cause, immediately recognized the new kingdom, and a little later it was acknowledged also by the United States of America and by Switzerland.

. . . . . .

Cavour thought it a good constitutional rule that the ministry should resign after the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy. The King, to whom Cavour's omnipotence was becoming a little wearisome, offered the Presidency of the Council to Ricasoli, but on his refusing it his Majesty readily understood that nobody save Cavour was able to occupy the post. He entrusted to Cavour, therefore, the reconstruction of the ministry. On March 22d Cavour had already formed it, retaining for himself the portfolios of foreign affairs and marine.

The most difficult period for Cavour was past. Everyone felt that he would now be able to proceed with greater ease to the completion of his prodigious task. He enjoyed an immense prestige throughout Europe, for he was universally acknowledged to be the most powerful statesman of the day. The Italians had boundless faith in his

success, and he himself had acquired a confidence even greater than before in his own intellectual power.

Two grave questions still remained—those of Rome and Venetia; and Cavour now devoted himself to their solution.

In order to prepare the way for the conquest of Venetia, he turned his attention to Prussia. Early in 1861, when he despatched General La Marmora to congratulate King William on his accession to the throne, he instructed him to inform the Prussian government that "by reason of the analogies which exist between the historical tendencies of Prussia and those of Piedmont, the Italians are accustomed to consider Prussia as a natural ally." At the same time that he was sowing these seeds for the future, Cavour was keeping in touch with the revolutionary forces of Hungary, and in a conversation that he held during the spring of 1861 with Kossuth, the great dictator of 1849, with the object of reaching a decisive agreement, he said to him: "If God wills it, as the King and we ourselves will it, Venetia will be ours and Hungary free—perhaps even next autumn, certainly within a year." And as though he wished to give Venetia some immediate proof that the free Italians were not halting on their arduous march, but were thinking of the liberation of their brothers who were still in servitude, he attended the inauguration, in Turin, of a monument to the renowned dictator Daniel

Manin, in whom Roman valour had been joined to Venetian good sense. That ceremony took place on March 22d, a date dear to the heart of the Venetians, for it recalled the expulsion of the Austrians from their city in the revolution of 1848.

While he thus sent a word of encouragement to Venice, he faced the Roman problem with splendid daring.

XIX

CAVOUR'S LAST AUDACITY

Salve, dea Roma! Chinato ai ruderi
del Fòro, io seguo con dolci lacrime
e adoro i tuoi sparsi vestigi,
patria, diva, santa genitrice.

. . . . . .

Ecco, a te questa, che tu di libere
genti facesti nome uno, Italia,
ritorna, e s'abbraccia al tuo petto,
affisa ne' tuoi d'aquila occhi.

CARDUCCI: *Nell' annuale della fondazione di Roma.*[1]

[1] Hail! Rome the divine—native land, goddess, holy mother. Bending over the ruins of the Forum I follow with tears of joy thy footprints, and worship as I follow them . . . Lo! this Italy, whom thou didst fashion of free peoples formed in one, returns to thee, nestles at thy bosom, fixes her eyes upon thine eagle gaze.—*On the Anniversary of the Founding of Rome.*

CHAPTER XIX

CAVOUR'S LAST AUDACITY

The Roman question—Secret negotiations with the Curia—Discussion in the Chamber; Cavour's speeches of March 25 and 27, 1861: *free Church in free State*—Rome acclaimed capital by Parliament—Painful dissension between Garibaldi and Cavour; their reconciliation—Death of the great Minister (June 6, 1861).

THE temporal power of the Popes arose in the early Middle Ages, when the political unity of Italy was falling into ruins. It must inevitably disappear when the idea of union prevailed in the work of national reorganization. Now the enterprise of the *Thousand* had conclusively brought about the triumph of that idea, and Cavour, putting aside all doubts and fears, at once and resolutely affirmed it.

On October 11, 1860, just when the difficulties of his policy were increasing in seriousness and complexity, when the Bourbon army was still in good condition, when nearly all the Powers, annoyed at the part which Piedmont played in the expedition of the *Thousand*, had recalled their representatives from Turin, and the Emperors of Austria and Russia and the King of Prussia were on the point

of meeting at Warsaw for the purpose of taking precautions against Italy—just then Cavour was going to Parliament to assert:

"Our destiny, Gentlemen, I declare it to you openly, is to bring it about that the Eternal City, on which twenty-five centuries have heaped every kind of glory, shall become the splendid capital of the Italian Kingdom."

And forthwith, amid all the problems that demanded speedy solution, he opened secret negotiations with the Roman Curia, by means of Dr. Diomede Pantaleoni and the theologian Passaglia, in order to reach an early settlement of this question.[1] He wished the first affirmation of the Italian Parliament to be one concerning Italy's rights over Rome.

It was a memorable speech that he made to the Chamber upon this subject on March 25, 1861. Cavour was not one of those brilliant orators who strike the imagination and compel applause. He was a lucid, precise reasoner, who addressed himself to the reflective faculties of his audience and aimed at completely persuading it. Though

[1] In the first sessions of the first Italian Parliament the presidency was held, in virtue of seniority, by a septuagenarian advocate of Bologna, Antonio Zanolini, who thirty years before had presided over the Constituent Assembly of the United Provinces, and had paid for his audacity by imprisonment and exile. The aged patriot in resigning his position to the president-elect, Urbano Rattazzi (March 11, 1861), declared that Rome was essential to Italy. He lived to see the realization of his dream, for he only died in 1877, in his eighty-seventh year.

his style was sometimes lacking in colour, the force of his thought gave emphasis to his phrases, and his views were so just and lofty, and the reasons which he adduced were so convincing and followed in such logical sequence, that in the end he attained an extraordinary effectiveness.

If Italy could be imagined as firmly constituted as one nation without Rome for her capital, I frankly declare that I should think the solution of the Roman question difficult, perhaps impossible. Why is it our right—nay, our duty—to request, to insist, that Rome shall be reunited to Italy? Because, without Rome for her capital, Italy cannot be constituted.

When you ask the Pope to make the concessions to civil society which are demanded by the nature of the times and by the progress of civilization, but which are in opposition to the positive precepts of the religion whose sovereign Pontiff he is, you are asking him for something that he is unable to give and that he ought not to give.

In his speech of March 27th Cavour stated his view with still greater precision. Apostrophizing the Pontiff he said:

I do not reproach you when you refuse to proclaim religious liberty, or freedom of education; I understand your attitude. You have to teach certain doctrines, and therefore you cannot say that it may be well for all kinds of doctrine to be taught. You cannot accept the advice of your

bona-fide friends, for they ask of you what you are unable to give. And you are constrained to remain in this abnormal condition as father of the faithful, forced to keep the people under the yoke by the help of foreign bayonets.

. . . . . .

When he had demonstrated the necessity for abolishing the temporal power, Cavour paused to describe the new position of the Pope. Believing in the miracles of Liberty, he wished to apply to the relations of Church and State the same principles that guided all his policy; and with lofty eloquence he asserted that the true solution of the question was to be found in the absolute separation of the two powers. As long ago as the year 1848 he had set forth this firm conviction of his in the early numbers of his newspaper *Il Risorgimento;* it was, he said, the inevitable consequence of new times and new ideas. If the temple of the individual conscience was to be sacred and inviolable, if the exercise of the rights of citizenship was not to depend upon the form of religion, then necessarily the power of the State and the power of the Church must be entirely distinct and each perfectly independent of the other.

In the speech of March 27th he summed up his view in the formula *A free Church in a free State*, and concluded his argument thus:

I will point out, in proof of the sincerity of our proposals, that they are in conformity with our whole system. We hold that the system of liberty ought to

be introduced into every part of religious and civil society. We desire economic liberty; we desire administrative liberty; we desire full and absolute liberty of conscience; we desire all the political liberties that are compatible with the maintenance of public order; and as a necessary consequence we believe it to be essential to the harmony of the edifice which we wish to raise, that the principle of liberty should be applied to the relations of Church and State. . . . These truths will be accepted by public opinion; without being able to foresee how much time it will take for them to acquire irresistible force, I think I am not deceiving myself when I declare that, in an age in which even the intellectual world makes use of the locomotive, these ideas will not have to wait long for general adoption.

Terenzio Mamiani, who was present at this sitting, has described the impression produced by Cavour's words:

Before the tumultuous cheers broke out, long sustained and renewed again and again, there was a moment of profound and solemn silence, such as marks that condition of sublime wonder by which all the powers of the mind are sometimes absorbed and subdued. Then on every side faces shone with sudden and unspeakable joy; it seemed to illuminate them like a supernal light flashing within the soul. At one moment the minister's voice seemed to become superhuman, solemnly announcing to men that the times were ripe for liberty of conscience—rather for complete liberty of the spirit in thought, works, faith, judgment, in the inward and the outer life.

The debate ended on March 27th with the almost unanimous approval of an order of the day in which Rome was acclaimed capital of Italy. This declaration marks a decisive date in history, for thus the precise object to be attained was set before the Italian people, and the firm resolution to pursue it unwaveringly was impressed upon the national conscience.

Cavour had spoken too strongly, and he was too much accustomed to announce the goal which he proposed to reach. It was not to be expected that the negotiations which he had already begun with the Pope and Napoleon III. would lead to a swift solution of the problem.

. . . . . .

About this time a regrettable incident cast a shadow over his mind. The position which should be given to the Garibaldian officers who had entered the regular army was under consideration. It seemed to some of them that the government took too little account of their work, and they excited Garibaldi against Cavour, probing the wound, not yet healed, that had been inflicted on him by the cession of Nice to France. Garibaldi hurried to Turin. In a painful sitting of the Chamber he expressed violent criticisms on the ministry's work, and declared that it would be too repugnant to him to shake hands with the man who had made him a foreigner in Italy.

Cavour knew how to restrain his fiery temper. Realizing the great harm that would accrue to

CITTÀ DI TORINO

CONCITTADINI,

La Giunta municipale da annunzio che recheravvi immenso dolore, perchè è una sciagura nazionale.

Il Conte CAMILLO BENSO DI CAVOUR, Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri, ha cessato di vivere!

Questo è giorno di costernazione e di lutto per chiunque desidera ed ama la libertà e la gloria della comune Patria: ma non vi lasciate vincere dalla sfiducia e dall'abbattimento. La costanza e la fermezza nelle sventure sono le virtù dei Popoli forti e generosi; e già Voi ne deste altre volte splendide prove.

La Divina Provvidenza, che ha con tanta ricchezza di avvenimenti mostrato di voler serbare la Nazione ad un glorioso avvenire, non permetterà che la grande opera iniziata dall'illustre nostro Concittadino, di cui deploriamo la perdita, rimanga incompiuta.

CONCITTADINI abbiamo fede nei destini d'Italia.

Torino, dal palazzo della Città, addì 6 giugno 1861.

Per la Giunta

IL SINDACO
A. DI COSSILLA

Il Segretario
C. FAVA

FACSIMILE OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE DEATH OF CAVOUR

Italy from strife between himself and Garibaldi, he suppressed all personal resentment, but his voice betrayed emotion as he replied:

I know that a certain event has placed a gulf between Garibaldi and myself. I believed that I was discharging a painful duty—the most painful that I have ever performed—in advising the King and moving Parliament to approve the cession of Nice and Savoy to France. The grief which I have experienced enables me to understand that which General Garibaldi must have felt, and if he declines to forgive me for this action I do not blame him.

And then he proceeded calmly to refute the criticisms which had been passed on the ministry.

The King was distressed by this dispute between the two greatest personages of Italy. He tried to bring about a reconciliation, and succeeded in arranging an interview between them in a salon of the royal palace at Turin. At that colloquy Cavour explained the line of action which he intended to follow with regard both to Austria and to France, and Garibaldi expressed approval of his programme. "We separated," wrote Cavour in a letter of April 27, 1861, "if not friends, at least without nursing any resentment." A little later, in fact, Garibaldi wrote to Cavour (May 18, 1861):

Let Victor Emmanuel be the arm of Italy, and you the brain. Trusting in your superior capacity and firm desire to promote the welfare of the coun-

try, I shall await the welcome voice that will call me once again to the field of battle.

. . . . . .

But by this time Cavour had lost his health; he was worn out by the labours and the constant mental strain of the past years. His intimates noticed that his disposition had changed; instead of showing his wonted cheerfulness and vivacity, he now appeared to be moody and taciturn. On May 29, 1861, he was stricken with fever. After repeated bleedings he seemed to rally. He wished still to occupy himself with public affairs, and on June 1st the Council of Ministers assembled around his bed. Next day the fever returned with increased violence.

When this news ran through Turin the gloomiest anxiety fell upon the whole body of citizens. The Cavour Palace and the neighbouring places were thronged by a silent and sorrowing crowd who watched for some glimmer of hope. But Cavour's condition became gradually worse. Often he was delirious; at these times he spoke always of politics, expressing his firm faith in Italy's future. The curé of his parish, a good Franciscan friar (Fr. Giacomo Marocco), who was bound by ties of friendship to the Cavour family, hastened to administer the last sacraments to the dying man. Hence were avoided the serious misfortunes that would certainly have befallen the clergy of Turin upon such a refusal as the priests had made to the Minister Santarosa. But the Roman Curia had

THE FUNERAL OF CAVOUR
From a drawing by Carlo Chessa

desired and hoped for a scandal. Angered by the friar's action, it summoned him to Rome, deprived him of his parish, suspended him from the exercise of spiritual functions, and sent him to end his days in a remote monastery.

At 6.45 on the morning of June 6, 1861, the great minister breathed his last. King Victor Emmanuel, who a little before had gone to his bedside to bid him farewell, desired that his remains should rest in the church of Superga, beside the tombs of the House of Savoy. It was a noble and becoming thought; but Cavour had arranged that his bones should be buried in the tomb of his family in the village of Santena, near Chieri, and his wishes were respected.

. . . . . .

Cavour was highly favoured by nature, for in him a warm and generous disposition was joined to extraordinary intellectual power. Even to-day the remembrance of his policy captivates and exalts us, not merely by reason of the great results that were achieved with the scanty means at his disposal, but also by reason of the noble sentiments which directed it, the winning geniality which illuminated it He put at the base of the Italian *Risorgimento* the idea of liberty, widely interpreted and realized under every form. Therefore he succeeded in uniting, in the pursuit of a single purpose, the most dissimilar elements of the nation, and he did not disdain to avail himself of the

Mazzinists and the Garibaldians; rather, accepting a part of their ideas, he succeeded in fusing together the aspirations of all. Thus in a few years the great Italian dream became a reality.

On the occasion of the centenary of Cavour's birth, Luigi Luzzatti, the distinguished thinker who at that time was President of the Council of Ministers, delivered a striking address at Turin—in the historic hall of the Palazzo Madama. Referring to the comparsion which has been so often drawn between Cavour and Bismarck, he emphasized the greater difficulties which the Italian statesman had to face:

Germany had been already freed by the Reformation, by Kant, by Goethe, by Schiller, by the national war against Napoleon I. and France; moral and religious idealism had influenced her before that of politics; her lands were free from the foreigner. Italy was divided; humiliated by a twofold tyranny, civil and ecclesiastical; her best provinces subject to foreign domination.

Prussia, the leader of Germany, had eighteen million inhabitants, and a formidable army long prepared for the hour of deliverance. Little Piedmont was wonderfully daring and strong, but always little.

The Germans sufficed to liberate Germany. The Piedmontese diplomatist had to gain the material aid of France for the redemption of the country without diminishing its autonomy or its prestige.

The German Chancellor, when he had won the

SUPERGA : BASILICA
(The burial-place of the Savoy Dynasty)
From a photo by Alinari

confidence of his King, had at his command the army trained by Moltke. The Italian minister had to work with forces that were valuable but distinct and independent. How often were the minds of the Italians convulsed with fear lest a collision of the two great stars of our national *Risorgimento*, Cavour and Garibaldi, should shatter into fragments the new edifice of the country! But the sovereign and magnetic influence of Victor Emmanuel II. kept them in their orbits. Never since the days of ancient Rome had Italy's sun shone upon such saviours of peoples as Garibaldi and Cavour —men of antique pride who yet increased their dignity by bowing before the majesty of the great King, because they realized that so they were doing homage to their country.

Cavour, in order to succeed, had to create a new public law in Europe, to solve the universal problem of the Papacy, and first to make his audacious revolt against an antiquated and suspicious diplomacy, which since 1815 had sought to do what fortunately for us was impossible—to crush the spirit of the free peoples.

German unity was achieved after Italy had set a happy example, after Cavour had opened the way. And although the means which the German Chancellor had at his disposal were great as compared with those employed by Cavour, Bismarck did not establish political unity as it was established in Italy—by destroying seven States and fusing them together.

Moreover the greater difficulties of Cavour's *magnum opus* arose from a method that was essentially different from Bismarck's. Italy was

made by liberty, Germany by authority. Bismarck exercised in consummate fashion the dictatorship entrusted to him by his King and Emperor. As the minister, responsible to Parliament, of a constitutional King proclaimed by plebiscites, Cavour, struggling and conquering all his life long, exercised a national dictatorship by his powers of persuasion.

XX

THE COMPLETION OF NATIONAL UNITY

Sola una mente e un' anima
Tutta l'Italia accende:
Leva, o stranier, le tende!
Il regno tuo cessò.

E tu, signor de' liberi,
Re de l'Italia armato,
Ne i voti del senato,
Ne 'l grido popolar,

Sorgi, Vittorio: a l'ultima
Gloria de' regi ascendi;
Al popolo distendi
La mano, ed a l'acciar.

CARDUCCI: *Il Plebiscito.*[1]

[1] A single mind, a single soul, illumines all Italy. Strike thy tents, O foreigner! Thy sway has ceased. And thou, lord of the free, Italy's soldier-King, by the votes of the Senate, by the people's cry, rise, Victor: ascend to the highest honour of Kings; stretch out thine hand to the people and to the sword.—*The Plebiscite.*

CHAPTER XX

THE COMPLETION OF NATIONAL UNITY

Internal difficulties of the new Kingdom—The Roman question: Aspromonte; the convention of September 15, 1864; removal of the capital to Florence—The war of 1866 and the annexation of Venetia—Garibaldi in the Papal States; intervention of the French, and battle of Mentana—Occupation of Rome (September 20, 1870)—The Law of Guarantees—Removal of the capital to Rome—Conclusion.

THE difficulties of the new kingdom were grave indeed. Four dynasties, those of Naples, Tuscany, Modena and Parma, aspired to the recovery of their lost thrones. The Papacy exerted its whole strength to throw down the new edifice. From the fortresses of the Quadrilateral, Austria kept a threatening eye on the new kingdom. Napoleon III. was checked in his policy of favouring Italy by the Clericalism which was dominant at his Court. And while nearly all the States of Europe were watching with distrust an Italy awakened to new life, the Garibaldian party was impatient to wrest Rome from the Pope and Venetia from Austria.

Besides these serious problems of foreign politics, there were all the difficult internal questions con-

nected with the fusing of the populations of the various regions. Those who were now gathering together to form a single family were all Italian citizens, but how great were their diversities! First and foremost came racial differences; for even without going back to pre-Roman origins, and even admitting that during the long period of Roman domination the various peoples of Italy were fused into a single type, it remains that this type was modified by fresh elements which came in afterwards; in particular the Lombards at the North, and the Byzantines and Arabs at the South, left clearly visible traces. And these diversities were long preserved, both by the historical circumstances which kept the various regions apart for so many centuries, and also by the geographical conformation of the country. Hence the civilization of each region had developed along different lines, and at the moment of union had reached a different stage of progress. Respect for tradition seemed to counsel an administrative organization based on the regions, and a Bill of that character was drawn up by the minister Minghetti while Cavour was yet alive. But the fear that local feeling might acquire ascendency over national sentiment, and the necessity of concentrating all forces and resources, and also of acting with greater energy in places where the local institutions were inefficient, led to the adoption, as a preferable alternative, of the centralized régime of the French. The kingdom was split

up into smaller divisions, called provinces, each under a prefect representing the central government. This was perhaps a necessity in view of the amazing rapidity with which the Kingdom of Italy had been formed.

One serious embarrassment for the new kingdom arose from brigandage. Brigandage had been the permanent scourge of the Southern provinces, both because of the extreme misery of their peasantry, who by taking to the country tried to escape from hunger and from the constant oppression of their landlords, and also because the governments of the South had never been very strong or much respected. Moreover the lack of roads and habitations in the country districts favoured its growth. And now, when the Southern army was melting away, and the old administration was disappearing and the new was not yet formed, brigandage flourished the more; it assumed, in fact, a political complexion, for King Francis II. of Naples began to encourage it in the hope of yet recovering his throne. To stamp out the pest the Italian government had to use force and money—to pass terrible laws and to apply them relentlessly. But it was a long struggle, for whenever the brigands found themselves closely pursued they sought an easy refuge in the Papal States.

Another and not less troublesome problem was that of finance. The eminent patriot Valentino Pasini, calculating the revenues of the various

governments which formed the new kingdom, found that the normal income of the State would be some five hundred million lire. But the regular expenditure was twice as much, and it was found impossible to reduce it, though every attempt at economy was made. And naturally so; for it was necessary not only to reorganize the whole administration of the country, but also to promote commercial and industrial development by improving the means of communication; to combat ignorance by increasing the provision for public education; to maintain the army in strength, and to form a fleet in readiness to meet the difficulties which still stood in the way of the completion of national unity. Hence it may be realized that the financial problem long troubled the public life of the new kingdom. The man who may be considered the financial liquidator of the Italian revolution was Quintino Sella. He was a native of Biella, and came of an industrial family. He had studied mathematics and won distinction in the world of science as a professor of mineralogy. Entering the Chamber in 1860, when only thirty-three years of age, he quickly acquired great influence by the precision and clearness of his ideas, and two years later he became Minister of Finance. He held the same office again several times in later years. All possible means of equalizing revenue and expenditure were adopted; the public debt was increased; existing taxes were raised and new ones created. It is to Sella's

credit that he knew how to face unpopularity, though it must be acknowledged also that the Italian people accommodated itself with fine patriotism to even the heaviest of sacrifices.

. . . . . .

But the first place in everyone's thoughts was filled by the question of the completion of national unity. Ricasoli, who had succeeded Cavour in the Presidency of the Council, opened negotiations to solve the Roman problem, though without result. In 1862 his place at the head of affairs was taken by Rattazzi, who was attached to the *Left* and seemed more favourable to the party of action. Impatient of delay, and convinced that if they took the initiative the government would follow them, Garibaldi and his partisans planned a sudden attack on Rome. Garibaldi went to Sicily, the region which retained the warmest enthusiasm for him, and, raising the battle-cry *Rome or death*, began to enrol volunteers. At first the ministry refrained from interfering. Perhaps Rattazzi flattered himself that he might play, in this enterprise, the part which Cavour played in the expedition of the *Thousand;* but he possessed neither Cavour's capacity for extricating himself from the difficulties of the situation, nor his prestige among the diplomats of Europe. Rome was still occupied by the French, and Napoleon III., urged on by the Clerical party, made it understood that he would treat the entry of the Garibaldini into the Papal States as a

declaration of war by the Kingdom of Italy. Rattazzi was then under the painful necessity of stopping the revolution by force. Garibaldi, with two thousand five hundred volunteers, had already passed into Calabria. There, on the heights of Aspromonte, he was surrounded by a corps of sharpshooters. All the Italians predicted that no blood would be shed; there was, however, some firing on both sides and Garibaldi himself was wounded (August 29, 1862). He was removed to the fort of Varignano, on the bay of Spezia; his officers and soldiers were declared prisoners of war and confined in fortresses. In October the marriage of the King's daughter Maria Pia to King Luis of Portugal offered the government an opportunity of granting an amnesty for these acts, and Garibaldi thereupon returned to Caprera.

While the undecided policy of the government was causing profound dissatisfaction in the country, Joseph Mazzini ardently renewed his propaganda. "We shall never get Rome," he declared from his exile in London, "until we have got Venice—until we have broken the power of Austria." He concentrated his whole effort upon the organizing of insurrection committees in Venetia, trusting that after insurrection had broken out the Italian government would be constrained to undertake the war. On this occasion he found a powerful supporter of his designs in Victor Emmanuel himself, who, annoyed

by the timidity of his ministry (of which Minghetti was then President), entered into communication with the famous revolutionist by means of a secret agent.

On his part also Garibaldi was thinking of the liberation of Venice. He believed he could make use of the great sympathy which the English people were showing towards him, to put pressure on the English government and to induce it to give him support and money for the war with Austria. Under the pretext of consulting the celebrated English surgeons about his wound, he set out for England in March, 1864. There all classes of society vied in demonstrating their admiration for him. Never had London welcomed a man with so great and so universal an enthusiasm (April 11, 1864); but the English government, while showing him every goodwill, managed to divest his visit of any political character. On the other hand the difficulties of the international situation made King Victor Emmanuel hesitate in following the secret counsels which Mazzini gave him, and in May, 1864, as a consequence, Mazzini broke off all negotiations. But the project serves to show that in these two great Italians —the monarch and the republican—patriotism carried the day over every other idea.

Meantime the question of the capital engrossed more and more completely the minds of the Italians. The Minister Minghetti hoped to satisfy public opinion to some extent by obtaining the

declaration of war by the Kingdom of Italy. Rattazzi was then under the painful necessity of stopping the revolution by force. Garibaldi, with two thousand five hundred volunteers, had already passed into Calabria. There, on the heights of Aspromonte, he was surrounded by a corps of sharpshooters. All the Italians predicted that no blood would be shed; there was, however, some firing on both sides and Garibaldi himself was wounded (August 29, 1862). He was removed to the fort of Varignano, on the bay of Spezia; his officers and soldiers were declared prisoners of war and confined in fortresses. In October the marriage of the King's daughter Maria Pia to King Luis of Portugal offered the government an opportunity of granting an amnesty for these acts, and Garibaldi thereupon returned to Caprera.

While the undecided policy of the government was causing profound dissatisfaction in the country, Joseph Mazzini ardently renewed his propaganda. "We shall never get Rome," he declared from his exile in London, "until we have got Venice—until we have broken the power of Austria." He concentrated his whole effort upon the organizing of insurrection committees in Venetia, trusting that after insurrection had broken out the Italian government would be constrained to undertake the war. On this occasion he found a powerful supporter of his designs in Victor Emmanuel himself, who, annoyed

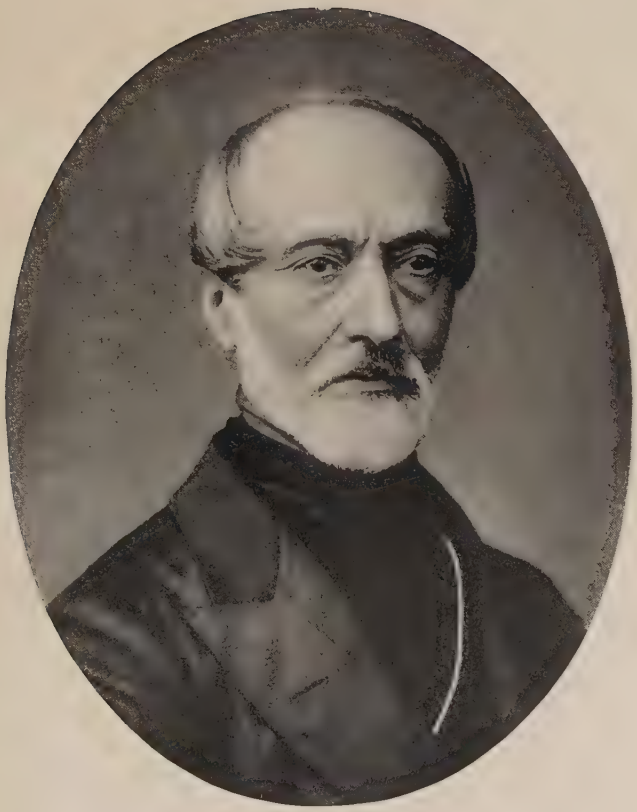
by the timidity of his ministry (of which Minghetti was then President), entered into communication with the famous revolutionist by means of a secret agent.

On his part also Garibaldi was thinking of the liberation of Venice. He believed he could make use of the great sympathy which the English people were showing towards him, to put pressure on the English government and to induce it to give him support and money for the war with Austria. Under the pretext of consulting the celebrated English surgeons about his wound, he set out for England in March, 1864. There all classes of society vied in demonstrating their admiration for him. Never had London welcomed a man with so great and so universal an enthusiasm (April 11, 1864); but the English government, while showing him every goodwill, managed to divest his visit of any political character. On the other hand the difficulties of the international situation made King Victor Emmanuel hesitate in following the secret counsels which Mazzini gave him, and in May, 1864, as a consequence, Mazzini broke off all negotiations. But the project serves to show that in these two great Italians —the monarch and the republican—patriotism carried the day over every other idea.

Meantime the question of the capital engrossed more and more completely the minds of the Italians. The Minister Minghetti hoped to satisfy public opinion to some extent by obtaining the

withdrawal of the French troops that occupied Rome; but Napoleon III. stipulated that if he were to carry out this the Italian government should bind itself to respect, and make others respect, what still remained of the Papal States, and (as if to prove that it had renounced every design on Rome) should transfer the capital from Turin to Florence. Notwithstanding the lively discontent which it aroused in the country, this convention of September 15, 1864, was enforced; in 1865 the capital was moved to Florence, and simultaneously the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome was begun.

Just at that time the Pope, who had fallen completely into the hands of the Jesuits, showed that he was moving ever farther away from the spirit of modern civilization. On December 8, 1864, he published the *Syllabus*—an index of eighty propositions considered to be heretical, but which (said the Pope) dominated "this our sorrowful age." They were: liberty of thought, freedom of worship, the separation of Church and State, the civil power's independence of ecclesiastical power, freedom of the press and of teaching—in short all the positions gained by modern Liberalism. On its part the Italian government, pursuing the path of reform desired by the new era, dealt with the question of matrimony (November 15, 1865) by making obligatory the civil ceremony as distinct from the religious rite, which was left optional; and afterwards



MAZZINI
From a photo by Alinari

proclaimed the suppression of many religious corporations and proceeded to nationalize their property. Hence the opposition between the Roman Curia and the Italian government became more acute than ever.

Not less strained were the relations with Austria, for the thought of the liberation of Venetia was dear to every Italian's heart. To attain this object an alliance with Prussia was formed.

. . . . . .

The great part which Cavour had played on the stage of European politics was soon filled by Otto von Bismarck, whom King William I. called to the head of the Prussian government in 1862. He, too, desired to unite and to strengthen his nation, and for that reason aimed at expelling Austria from Germany. Thus the aims of Prussia and the aims of Italy united the two States in a common hostility to Austria, even as Cavour had already foreshadowed. It was easy, therefore, to conclude a treaty of alliance (April 8, 1866).

Yet the war was not fortunate for the Italians. In the first place the grave mistake was made of dividing the army into two parts, so as to avoid wounding the susceptibilities of the two generals who seemed to have the best claims to the supreme command—La Marmora and Cialdini. Most of the troops were concentrated on the banks of the Mincio, but a strong body, under Cialdini, was assembled in Ferrarese territory on the Lower Po, and the two commandants did not

agree on any definite plan. On June 24th the battle of Custozza was fought on the heights between the Mincio and the Adige, but for lack of skilful handling scarcely a third of the Italian army assembled on the Mincio was able to take part in the struggle. The several bodies, too, fought confusedly and without unity of control, so that the fight was not so much a set battle, with a definite objective, as a series of disconnected engagements in which the different commandants, having lost their bearings and lacking initiative, could do no more than give high proofs of individual valour. By evening the Italian army was beaten at all points and was obliged to recross the Mincio. La Marmora feared to renew the attack next day, and that circumstance enchanced the enemy's success.

The Italians hoped that their fleet, which was commonly judged to be superior to that of Austria, would win some compensation for the defeat of Custozza. But it had not been properly equipped; and, besides, the error was committed of entrusting the command to Admiral Persano, who, although he had acquired great reputation with the public by taking to himself the credit for the achievements of others, did not enjoy the confidence of his officers. The result was that at the critical moment he lacked their cordial co-operation. The Austrian fleet, on the contrary, was fortunate in its commander, the young and daring Admiral Tegetthof, who was deter-

ENRICO CIALDINI
From a contemporary print, 1859

mined to conquer or to die, and was surrounded by officers as bold as himself and full of confidence in their leader. To this fact was chiefly due the Austrian victory of Lissa (July 20th), though this engagement also was far from being a regular battle. Each of the Italian vessels fought on its own account; in fact a part of the Italian fleet remained almost inert, and confined itself to useless firing from a great distance. At Lissa, as at Custozza, there were some magnificent examples of individual courage, nullified by incompetent direction. Persano was afterwards cashiered for incapacity.

Meanwhile the army had again assumed the offensive and had entered Venetia, which by this time was freed from the Austrians, for they had been recalled to defend Vienna against the advancing Prussians. Simultaneously the volunteers, led by Garibaldi, were making their way victoriously into the Trentino. But news came that Prussia had concluded an armistice with Austria. For some days Italy was faced by the painful alternatives of accepting the armistice concluded by Austria or of continuing the war alone. The idea of peace prevailed. Austria promised to give up Venetia, but not the Trentino, and Garibaldi was therefore ordered to withdraw. The hero's heart bled, but he replied: "I obey." Napoleon III. made himself the mediator, and by the treaty of Prague (August 24, 1866) Austria ceded Venetia to the Emperor of the French, who

in turn ceded it to Victor Emmanuel after taking a plebiscite of the inhabitants. Here, too, there was virtual unanimity in favour of annexation to the rest of Italy (647,246 votes to 69), and on November 7, 1866, Venice gave King Victor Emmanuel a triumphant welcome.[1]

. . . . . .

About that time Napoleon III. withdrew his last troops from Rome, and the papal government was left to face its subjects unaided. Secret committees were formed in Rome with the object of provoking an insurrection, but they seemed to be inept and irresolute, and for this reason the Garibaldian party in the kingdom showed a determination to precipitate events by means of an expedition. Urbano Rattazzi was again at the head of the government, and the Garibaldini feared no opposition from that quarter. By September of 1867 the preparations for the movement were already far advanced; many volunteers were making their way in little groups towards the papal border, where they were to be organized into companies. So far the Italian government had refrained from interfering, for it hoped that in the end France would adapt herself to accomplished facts. But the violent protests of the Clericals led Napoleon III. to threaten armed intervention. The Italian government thereupon arrested Garibaldi, who had already gone

[1] Austria also restored to Italy the famous iron crown; it was carried back to Monza from Vienna.

close to the papal boundary, and sent him to Caprera.

Yet even in Garibaldi's absence the organization of companies of volunteers went on; and early in October they penetrated into the Papal States. In Rome itself a rising was then attempted, but it was speedily quenched in blood. Hoping to find the city still in revolt, the brothers Enrico and Giovanni Cairoli, with some seventy companions, descended the Tiber to a point within two miles of Rome, but there, near a villa called Glori, they were attacked by a strong company of Papalists, and the whole seventy fell dead or wounded.

Though kept under surveillance by order of the government, Garibaldi managed to get away from Caprera, and went to put himself at the head of the armed bands already assembled. Thereupon Napoleon III., who, under pressure from the French Clericals, had prepared a fleet at Toulon, gave orders that it should sail for Civita Vecchia. Garibaldi, having crossed the border, met the papal troops at Monterotondo on October 26th and defeated them; but a few days later, at Mentana, the French came to the aid of the Papalists and compelled the Garibaldini to retreat beyond the boundary. Thus failed the Garibaldian expedition of 1867.

As though to accentuate the opposition which, by reason of these events, was showing itself between Italy and France, Rouher, the President

of the French Ministry, plainly declared in the name of the French government that "Italy shall not take possession of Rome; never, never will France tolerate such violence to her honour and to Catholicism. If Italy marches against Rome, she will once more find France in her path." His aim was to satisfy the Clerical majority of the Chamber.

But all Italy was bent on Rome. Even in December of that same year 1867, Giovanni Lanza, in assuming the Presidency of the Chamber, openly asserted, as if in reply to Rouher's words: "We are unanimous in desiring the completion of national unity, and sooner or later Rome, by the necessity of things and by the judgment of the times, must be the capital of Italy."

. . . . . .

Since Cavour's death Giovanni Lanza had been one of the most prominent of politicians. He had no great natural ability, but by diligent and careful study of public questions he attained a degree of efficiency such as few possessed, and formed convictions from which it was impossible afterwards to move him. He was animated by disinterested zeal for the public welfare; he came to be called Cato, and certainly no one excelled him in integrity and conscientiousness. In 1869 accusations of corruption were made against certain politicians with regard to the concession to the *Credito Mobiliare* of monopoly rights in the preparation and sale of tobacco. The report

of the commission of inquiry failed to give complete satisfaction to public opinion, and the necessity of lifting political life into a purer atmosphere was generally felt. As soon as a ministerial crisis arose, Lanza seemed the man most clearly marked out to undertake the formation of the new ministry; and thus in December, 1869, he assumed the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

In the meantime the relations between France and Prussia had become seriously strained. For this reason Napoleon III. sought a more cordial understanding with Austria and Italy. The Italian government imposed the condition that France should withdraw from Rome the troops which she sent there in 1867. Napoleon III., faithful to the Clerical party, refused, and so the Franco-Italo-Austrian alliance fell through.

The Roman Curia, as though to give proof of its power, had assembled an Ecumenical Council in Rome—the twentieth in the history of Catholicism. It was opened in December, 1869, in the presence of eight hundred ecclesiastics. The Council was dominated by ideas irreconcilable with the Liberal principles which were then triumphant in the world; and as if in defiance of these principles the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope was decreed. After this decision of July, 1870, the Council was prorogued, and events prevented it from ever reassembling.

The war between France and Prussia was

declared just at that time. There where fresh diplomatic negotiations for a Franco-Italo-Austrian alliance, but they were rendered vain by the obstinacy of France in refusing to allow the Italians to occupy Rome. After the first defeats of the French arms, Napoleon III. withdrew his troops from Rome, and sent Prince Jerome Napoleon to Florence, to make a formal request for Italian aid, with the promise of a free hand in the Papal States. The chivalrous Victor Emmanuel wished to hurry to the help of his ally of 1859. But public opinion in Italy was hostile to Napoleon III. Moreover, though the French had fought side by side with the Italians in 1859, the Italians had been allies of Prussia in 1866. So the Council of Ministers declared itself for neutrality. When the disaster of Sedan had brought the French Empire to its fall, the Italian government felt itself absolved from the pledge given to Napoleon III. in 1864; it hastened, therefore, to complete the nationalist programme. King Victor Emmanuel wrote a letter to Pius IX. in which, with the "affection of a son," he prayed him to consider the conditions of Italy and to renounce the temporal power; but Pius IX. replied that he would yield to nothing but violence.

On the night of September 11th the Italian troops, commanded by General Raphael Cadorna, passed the papal frontier and without meeting serious resistance marched on Rome. They reached the gates of the Eternal City on the 18th.

Two days later, after fruitless negotiations by Cadorna, opened in the hope of avoiding a recourse to force, the attack was delivered at the Porta Pia. A breach was soon made in the walls, and the Italian troops entered the city in triumph. Thereupon Pius IX., who had merely wished to show that he yielded to *force majeure*, ordered his men to desist from hostilities, and shut himself up in the Vatican Palace, where he remained in the attitude of a prisoner. A plebiscite was taken in the Papal States on October 2d, with the result that 133,681 voted for annexation to the Kingdom of Italy, and 1,507 against it.

Political elections were held throughout the Kingdom in November. The number of Deputies, raised to 493 in 1866 after the union of Venice, was now increased to 508. This first legislature of the whole united Italy (the eleventh from the proclamation of the Statute) was opened at Florence on December 5th by Victor Emmanuel. In the address which he delivered on that occasion he was able with just pride to say:

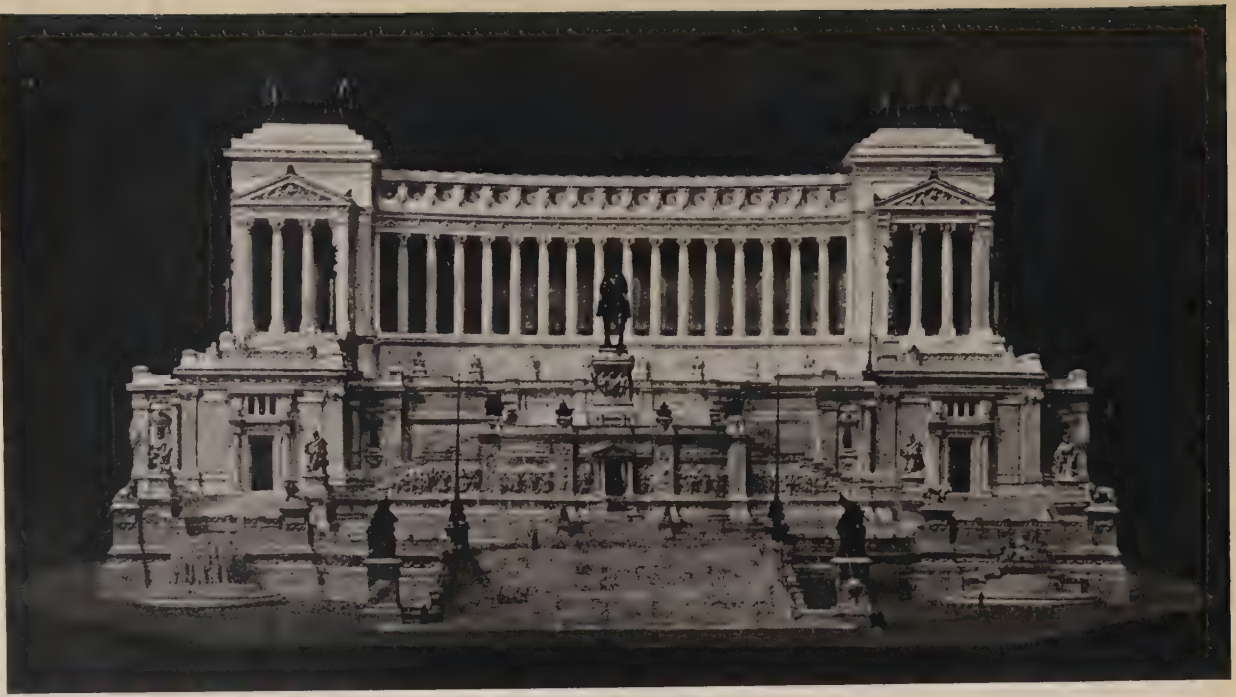
With Rome as the capital of Italy, I have fulfilled my promise and crowned the undertaking which twenty-three years ago was begun by my magnanimous father. As a king and as a son, I feel in my heart a solemn joy when I greet the representatives of our beloved country assembled here for the first time, and

CHESTER COLLEGE LIBRARY

when I pronounce these words: "Italy is free and one; it only remains for us now to make her great and happy."

. . . . . .

Before the new government was installed at Rome, there was a discussion in Parliament as to the attitude to be adopted towards the Pope. The great anxiety of many people on this point is easily understood. It was necessary to reassure the Catholic conscience as to the consequences which the abolition of the temporal power would have upon the independence of the Pontiff in his religious mission. Ten years before, Camillo Cavour had formulated the great principle *A Free Church in a Free State*. He had shown that the separation of Church and State was necessary to the complete harmony of the edifice of liberty which it was desired to raise in Italy; hence the Church ought to renounce every civil privilege and office, and the State all those cautionary and defensive provisions which it had hitherto devised against the ecclesiastical authority. He declared his readiness to apply these principles; but from his speeches, and from the many published documents relating to his negotiations with the Roman Curia, it seems clear that the concessions were in his mind intended as compensations for the spontaneous abandonment of the temporal power by the Pope. That renunciation was not made; the Pope constantly refused to come to terms, and, inflicting upon himself a



THE MONUMENT TO VICTOR EMMANUEL II. IN ROME

voluntary imprisonment in the Vatican, clearly announced that he was an enemy of the new Kingdom. Yet many of those who boasted that they were heirs of the Cavour traditions (and among them Giovanni Lanza) maintained that the principle of full liberty ought none the less to be applied to the Church. Others, on the contrary, putting theories aside, said that what was needed was a practical policy based on the experience of life; they urged that, while leaving some degree of liberty to the Church, the State should preserve the right of superintending her to a certain extent, by way of self-defence against the abuses of a priesthood who remained hostile to the State. Among the supporters of this opinion, one of the most influential was Quintino Sella, at that time Minister of Finance; but in face of Lanza's obstinacy he refrained from insisting upon his own view and contented himself with the introduction of certain mild restrictions into the project.

The result was what is known as the Law of Guarantees; which, after approval by the Chamber, received the King's sanction on May 13, 1871. It accorded to the Pope all the prerogatives and honours of a sovereign, allowed him the Vatican and Lateran Palaces and the villa of Castel Gandolfo, free of every tax or charge, and assigned to him an annual allowance of three million two hundred and twenty-five thousand Italian lire, which was the sum put down in the accounts of

the Roman State as a provision for the Pope and for the various ecclesiastical expenses of the Holy See. Beyond this, the new Kingdom of Italy, in order to secure the most complete liberty to the Church, renounced many of the rights exercised by previous governments with respect to ecclesiastical order. By this ordinance, as Bonghi very truly said, the State imposed limits on the operation and competence of its laws and on its powers in relation to the Church. On his part, however, the Pope never consented to recognize the Law of Guarantees; he refused the allowance and he continually protested against the Italian government, which he regarded as a usurper.

There was the danger that it might be desired to give an international character to the Law of Guarantees by placing the observance of it under the protection of the Catholic Powers. Fortunately it was found possible to avoid so grave a peril, since France, the one Power which at that time would have shown any inclination to embarrass the new Kingdom, no longer held a position of influence.

The removal of the capital was carried out early in July, 1871. King Victor Emmanuel II. left the Pitti Palace, at Florence, for the papal palace of the Quirinal. Many monasteries were whitewashed, decorated, and turned into official residences and government offices. The Chamber of Deputies had for its seat the Montecitorio

THE QUIRINAL, ROME
From a photo by Alinari

Palace, that fine building begun by Bernini in 1650 for the Ludovisi family and completed under Innocent XII. as a palace of justice. The palace named Madama after Margaret of Austria, daughter of Charles V., who had resided in it, was assigned to the Senate.

Thus the grand idea of Italian unity, so long cherished as a dream by the greatest thinkers, so long hymned as a sacred ideal by the most distinguished poets, might be considered an accomplished fact. Nearly all the territory that was Italian in a geographical sense had now been gathered into a single State, the population of which, according to the census made on December 31, 1871, totalled twenty-six million eight hundred thousand.[1]

. . . . . .

In reviewing the vicissitudes of the Italian *Risorgimento*, it is usual to say that Italy has been fortunate—it is usual to speak of her lucky star. But if one reflects upon the great sorrows that had to be endured in the making of Italy, the forces of intellect, the heroic deeds that were displayed, it will easily be recognized that Italy owes her good fortune to herself, to her thinkers and poets, to the long roll of her martyrs, to her eminent statesmen, to her valiant soldiers. The fortune of Italy consists in the fact that she produced, during those years, a splendid company

[1] In the census of 1921, the population of the Kingdom (including the Territories newly annexed after the worldly war) reached a total of 40 millions.

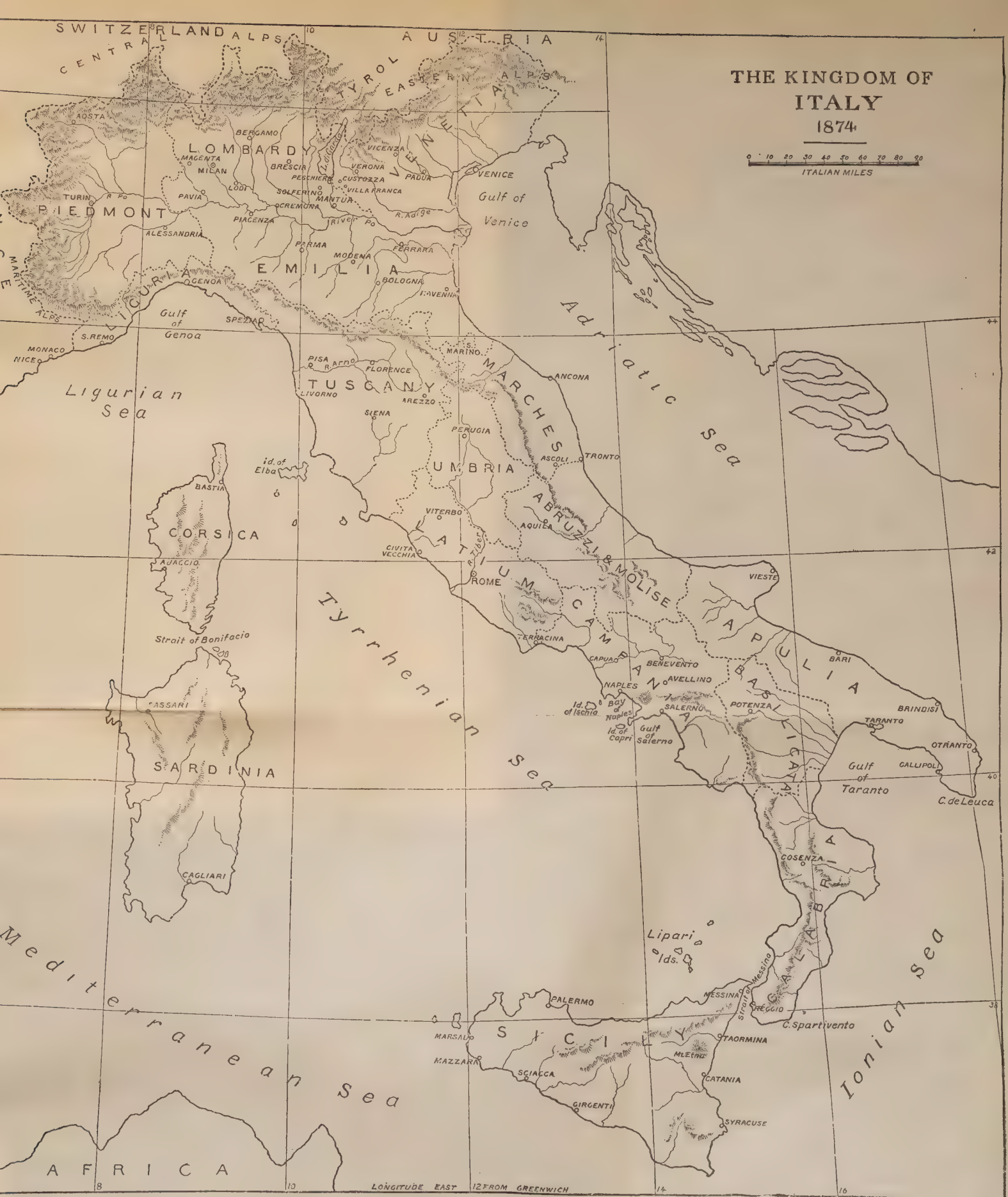
of elect minds and noble souls, and especially the four personalities who furnished the most valuable elements in her redemption: the apostle who gave the faith, the hero who moved the spirit of the people, the sovereign who put the monarchy at the service of the revolution, and the statesman who co-ordinated and disciplined all forces in order to attain the great end in view.

Time has weakened the remembrance of the petty human passions which now and then created strife between the great personages of this epic, and to-day the Italian people is able to gather up into one affectionate and grateful thought King Victor and Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour; and to do so is the easier because in their difficult task the monarch was often obliged to appear revolutionary, and the red-hot republican believed it compatible with his mission that he should invite the King to set the country free; because the great minister of the monarchy experienced violent outbursts of rebelliousness, and the captain of the people showed his splendid heroism in the phrase "I obey" pronounced on the confines of the Trentino.

They are the great guardian spirits of Italy!

PALAZZO MONTECITORIO, ROME. SEAT OF THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT
From a photo by Alinari

ITALY
BEFORE THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION
SWISSERLAND
GERMANY
FRANCE
Lake of Geneva
SAVOY
AOSTA
DAUPHINE
PROVENCE
PIEMONT
TURIN
MONTFERRAT
ALEXANDRIA
IMPL. FIEFS
GENOA
STATE OF GENOA
Gulf of Genoa
MONACO
NICE
DUCHY OF MILAN
BERGAMO
BRESCIA
PAVIA
MILAN
PIACENZA
STATE OF PARMA
PARMA
REGGIO
MODENA
STATE OF MODENA
BISHOPK OF TRENT
FRIULI
VICENZA
VERONA
MANTUA
R. Adige
PADUA
VENICE
STATE OF VENICE
Gulf of Venice or Adriatic Sea
FERRARA
BOLOGNA
ROMAGNA
RAVENNA
RIMINI
S. MARINO
ANCONA
PISA
R. Arno
FLORENCE
LIVORNO
TUSCANY
SIENA
SIENNESE
MARCH OF ANCONA AND FERMO
PERUGIA
Elba Id.
CORSICA
BASTIA
AJACCIO
PORTO VECCHIO
Strait of Bonifacio
SARDINIA
CAGLIARI
Gulf of Cagliari
PATRIM. OF St. PETER
CIVITA VECCHIA
OMBRIA
SABINA
R. Tiber
ABRUZZO ULTRA
AQUILA
PESCARA
ABRUZZO CITRA
TERMOLI
VIESTE
THE CHURCH STATE
ROME
OSTIA
CAMPAGNA DI ROMA
TERRA DI LAVORA
GAETA
CAPUA
Gulf of Gaeta
Ischia Id.
NAPLES
Gulf of Naples
Lot Capri
BENEVENTO
PRINCIP. ULTRA
SALERNO
Gulf of Salerno
PRINCIP. CITRA
POLICASTRO
CAPITANATA
BARI
TERRA DI BARI
BRINDISI
TERRA DI LECCE
TARENTO
BASILICATA
POTENZA
OTRANTO
Gulf of Tarento
C. de Leuca
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
CALABRIA CITRA
COSENZA
ST. EUFEMIA
Gulf of St. Eufemia
Gulf of Squillace
CALABRIA ULTRA
REGGIO
MESSINA
Isles of Lipari
PALERMO
CEFALU
MARSALA
Mt. Etna
CATANIA
SIRACUSA
C. Spartivento
SICILY
Mediterranean Sea
AFRICA
0 20 40 60 80 100 120
ENGLISH MILES
LONGITUDE 30 EAST FROM FERRO
24
26
28
30
32
34
36
38
40
42
44
46


THE KINGDOM OF
ITALY
1874
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90
ITALIAN MILES
SWITZERLAND
CENTRAL ALPS
AUSTRIA
TYROL
EASTERN ALPS
VENETIA
AOSTA
BERGAMO
LOMBARDY
MAGENTA
MILAN
BRESCIA
VICENZA
L. di Garda
VERONA
PADUA
VENICE
PESCHIERA
CUSTOZZA
VILLAFRANCA
LODI
SOLFERINO
MANTUA
PAVIA
TURIN
R. Po
PIEDMONT
CREMONA
R. Adige
PIACENZA
RIVER Po
ALESSANDRIA
PARMA
MODENA
FERRARA
EMILIA
BOLOGNA
RAVENNA
Gulf of Venice
Adriatic Sea
MARITIME ALPS
LIGURIA
GENOA
Gulf of Genoa
SPEZIA
S. REMO
MONACO
NICE
S. MARINO
MARCHES
ANCONA
PISA
R. Arno
FLORENCE
LIVORNO
TUSCANY
AREZZO
SIENA
Ligurian Sea
PERUGIA
UMBRIA
ASCOLI
TRONTO
id. of Elba
BASTIA
ABRUZZI & MOLISE
VITERBO
AQUILA
CORSICA
LATIUM
CIVITA VECCHIA
R. Tiber
AJACCIO
ROME
VIESTE
Strait of Bonifacio
Tyrrhenian Sea
TERRACINA
CAMPANIA
CAPUA
BENEVENTO
APULIA
BARI
NAPLES
AVELLINO
Id. of Ischia
Bay of Naples
SALERNO
POTENZA
BASILICATA
BRINDISI
TARANTO
Id. of Capri
Gulf of Salerno
OTRANTO
Gulf of Taranto
GALLIPOLI
C. de Leuca
SASSARI
SARDINIA
COSENZA
CALABRIA
CAGLIARI
Lipari Ids.
Mediterranean Sea
Ionian Sea
PALERMO
MESSINA
Strait of Messina
REGGIO
C. Spartivento
MARSALA
SICILY
TAORMINA
MAZZARA
MILETO
SCIACCA
CATANIA
GIRGENTI
SYRACUSE
AFRICA
8
10
12
14
16
38
40
42
44
LONGITUDE EAST FROM GREENWICH

INDEX

A

Aberdeen, Lord, 176
Abruzzi, the, 320
Acquapendente, attack near, 314
Adda, the, 6
Adige, the, 107, 118, 360
Agricultural Congress, the, 93
Ajaccio, Murat at, 19
Albert Amedeo I., 110
Alboin, King, 3
Alessandria, garrison at, 34; conspirators at, 66; railway at, 76; demands constitution, 103; troops at, 202; fortress strengthened, 227; Piedmont army at, 274
Alfieri, Vittorio, 8, 52, 194, 230
Alfonso, Count di Caserti, 322
Alps, Julian, 3; Tridentine, 276
Altieri, Cardinal, 113
Amadeus II., King, 329
Amadeus VIII., King, 329
Ancona, the rebels at, 49; fall of, 138; Austrians at, 218; siege of, 320
Angelo Mai, poem to, 30
Antonelli, Cardinal, 135, 178
Aosta, valley of, 68
Aporti, Ferrante, 77
Arabs, the, 352
Arese, Count Francesco, 216
Argentine Republic, 119
Argus, warship, 315
Armellini, 135
Arnaldo da Brescia, 83
Artom, secretary to Cavour, 277
Aspromonte, heights of, 356
Austria, Lombardy subject to, 5; war with France, 10; agreement with Murat, 17; controls Parma, 25; the Holy Alliance, 28; punishments by, 39; restores monarchies, 49; Charles Albert's hatred for, 85; conspiracy of, 90; hatred of, 96; censorship in, 97; treaty with Modena, 97; revolt against, 107; successes of, 115; hostilities with, 131; victory of, 132; captures Bologna, 138; captures Venice, 143; retaliations with, 151; hatred for 184, 198; violence of, 189; proposes to mediate, 215; Ferdinand supports, 223; change in Italian policy, 225; occupies Romagna, 241; declares war, 246; agrees not to attack Piedmont, 255; issues manifesto, 259; sends envoy to Piedmont, 262; advances on Turin, 275; retreat at Solferino, 276; retreat to Verona, 290; aggression of, 322; indignation of, 330; plans to wrest Venetia from, 351; Prussian hostility toward, 359; victory at Lissa, 361
Avellino, 31

B

Baden, Cavour at, 244
Balbo, Cesare, 81, 153

Baldasseroni, Giovanni, 181
Balkan Peninsula, the, 82
Bandiera, Admiral, 49; sons of, 79
Bard, fort at, 68
Barletta, challenge at, 151
Bartolommei, Marquis, 280
Basilicata, revolution in, 318
Beauharnais, Eugene, 12
Beggar King, the, 98
Belfiore, fortress of, 186
Belli, Giuseppe, 82
Bellona, Frigate, 80
Benevento, Principality of, 320
Bentivegna, Baron Francesco, 224
Bergamo, delegate of, 96; volunteers at, 120; revolt at, 132; Austrian defeat at, 276
Berti, Domenico, 56
Biella, town of, 354
Bismarck, Prince von, 219, 268, 346, 359
Bixio, Nino, 310, 316
Boggiano, Lorenzo, 66
Bologna, France takes, 10; revolution in, 47; the press at, 90; surrender of, 138; rising at, 288; Cavour at, 312
Bonaparte, Joseph, 12
Boncompagni, Carlo, 280
Borghese, Prince Camillo, 53
Borsieri, death of, 39
Botta, 194
Bourbon dynasty, Naples under the, 5; driven from France, 55; forfeited throne, 110
Brescia, revolt at, 132, 188
Brigandage in Italy, 180, 353
British Museum, 40
Brofferio, Angelo, 200
Browning, Mrs. E. B., *quoted*, 233, 247, 293
Brussels, 78
Buffalora, commissioner at, 69; bridge at, 275
Bunsen, Baron, 82
Buol, Count von, 217, 257
Byron, Lord, 52
Byzantines, the, 352

C

Cacciatori delle Alpi, 253
Cadore district, 189
Cadorna, Gen. Raphael, 366
Cagliari, Archbishop of, 156
Cagliari, steamship, 228
Cairoli, Enrico, 363; Giovanni, 363
Calabria, 19; insurrection at, 80; revolt at, 100; Garibaldi at, 318, 356
Calatafimi, attack at, 316
Calvi, Col. Fortunato, 189
Canal, Bernardo di, 187
Cancelleria, Palazzo della, 123
Capolago's Venetian press, 185
Cappellari, Fra Mauro, 47
Caprera, island of, 209; Garibaldi at, 356, 363
Carbonari, the, 31, 34, 52, 148
Carducci, G., *quoted*, 325, 335
Carignano, 23, 116, 147
Carniola, 32
Carrara, cause for war in, 240; rising at, 288
Casale-Monferrato, Agricultural Congress at, 93
Caserta, Ferdinand II. dies at, 278; province of, 322
Cassio, Severino, 54
Castel Gandolfo, villa of, 369
Castelli, Michelangelo, 261
Catania, burning of, 133; revolt at, 309
Catholic Democratic movement, 79
Cavaletto, Alberto, 189
Cavour, Camillo Benso di, 14; under surveillance, 53; letter to brother, 54; at Genoa, 55; love for Marchesa Anna, 56; letter to uncle, 56; against conspiracy, 58; sent to Bard, 68; resigns his commission, 68; travels abroad, 69; at Villach, 70; in Paris, 71; admires English liberty, 72; manages father's estate, 72; on Railways, 76; founds *Il Risorgimento*, 94; advises war,

Cavour—*Continued*
108; elected to Parliament, 117; fights Radicals, 125; enters Parliament, 152; in debate, 154; advocates reforms, 157; made Minister of Agriculture, 158; supports Free Trade, 159; made Minister of Finance, 161; becomes Premier, 168; handles finance, 197; signs treaty with the Western nations, 200; resigns from ministry, 203; recalled by the King, 204; visits Paris and London, 205; at Congress of Paris, 216; secures French alliance, 219; testimonials to, 222; happy disposition, 229; inspires confidence of Napoleon III., 237; letters from Baden, 244; organizes army, 253; invited to Paris, 255; returns to Turin, 257; a tragic moment for, 261; delivers Austrian letters, 275; many offices held by, 277; grief of, 290; resigns ministry, 291; relies on England, 299; reinstated, 301; victory for, 304; belief in Italian unity, 307; doubts and fears, 310; at Modena, 313; refuses dictatorship, 322; reconstructs ministry, 332; friendship with Garibaldi, 343; stricken with fever, 344; death of, 345; burial in the Superga, 345; succeeded by Ricasoli, 355
Cavour, Giuseppina, 159, 230
Cavour, Gustavo, 159, 230
Cavour, Marquis Michael Benso di, 53
Centres, the two, 166
Cesenatico, 141
Chambéry, 66
Charles Albert, birth of, 23; weak character of, 34; devotion to Holy Alliance, 40; becomes king, 62; dislikes Cavour, 71; confessions of, 84; urged to grant reforms, 94; grants constitution, 103; serves in war, 109; flees to Portugal, 132; dreams of, 330
Charles Emmanuel, 194
Charles Felix, brother of Victor Emmanuel I., 22; reconciliation with Charles Albert, 40; disliked by Cavour, 55; death of, 62
Charles Louis of Bourbon, 98, 243
Charles III. of Parma, 182
Charles X., 204
Chivasso, Austrians at, 275
Cholera, epidemic of, 205
Christina, Princess, 243
Chrzanowski, 131
Cialdini, Gen., 319, 359
Cipriani, Leonetto, 296
Cisalpine Republic, 35
Cispadane Republic, 10
Civil Code, the, 13
Civil Regeneration of Italy, the, 163
Civiltà Cattolica, the, 331
Civita Vecchia, 136, 363
Clarendon, Lord, 217
Clerical party, the, 154; victory over the, 157; pressure from the, 203; Gustavo Cavour favours, 230; intrigues of, 252; prayers for Austria, 269; discontent of, 289; Napoleon III. and, 351; protests of the, 362
Clotilde, Princess, 242; marriage of, 251; death of, 252
Collège de France, 122
Collegno, Count di, 34
Comacchio, 141
Como, revolt at, 132; Francis Joseph at, 185; Garibaldi at 276
Conciliis, Col. de, 31
Concordat, the, 202
Confalonieri, Count Frederick, 39; death of, 96
Confiteor, 84
Congress at Paris, the, 215, 219, 223, 226

Conneau, Dr., 239
Connubio, the, 166
Consalvi, Cardinal, 26
Constituent Assembly, the, 134
Constitution, Ferdinand grants the, 32
Corfu, 80
Corsica, 5, 19
Corsini, villa, 138; Prince of, 282
Cosenz, reinforcements by, 317
Council of State, the, 90
Cowley, Lord, 254
Credito Mobiliare, 364
Crimea, war in the, 198, 202, 223
Crispi, Francesco, 308, 310
Custoza, heights of, 118, 264, 360
Cyprus, King of, 331
Czar of Russia, the, 199

D

Dabormida, Minister, 199
D'Azeglio, Massimo, 84, 150, 161, 167, 203, 206, 289, 311; Roberto, 102
D'Allaman, Adelaide Sellon, 54
Dalmatia, 6
Dante, brotherhood of, 8; Cavour familiar with, 52; quotation from, 222
Danzini, Alexander, 285
Diario inedito, 56
Dolfi, Joseph, 281
Dottesio, Luigi, 185
Dubufe, painting by, 219
Durando, Gen. Giovanni, 202

E

Elba, island of, 17
Emilia, Liberals of, 46; Victor Emmanuel at, 312
England, in the Holy Alliance, 28; asylum for fugitives, 39; intervenes at Messina, 122; neutrality of, 241; tries to prevent war, 254; sympathy for Italy, 299; applauds Italy, 321
English Corn Laws, the, 72
Estensi, 25
Eugénie, Empress, 252, 289
Exilles, fort at, 54

F

Fantasio, novel by, 51
Fanti, Gen. Manfredo, 297, 319
Farina, Joseph La, 222, 280, 296, 308, 311
Farini, Luigi Carlo, 83, 288
Fauché, agent, 313
Ferdinand II. of Naples, 98; grants constitution, 101; negotiations with, 110; dissolves Parliament, 111; attempts conquest of Sicily, 121; in Sicily, 133; against Parliament, 173; Pius IX. supports, 178; sympathy for Russia, 223; Napoleon III. friendly with, 240; death of, 278
Ferdinand III. and I., 25, 32, 39, 95, 243
Ferdinand, Duke of Genoa, 110
Ferrara, 10, 92
Filangieri, General, 178
Finzi, Giuseppe, 189
Five Days, the, 188
Florence, 83; Parliament at, 114; insurrection at, 134; resistance of, 151; revolution in, 279; City Council of, 284; Italian capital at, 358; Parliament at, 367
Follonica, Gulf of, 141
Forlimpopoli, theatre at, 180
France, as monarchy, 4; revolution in, 10; in Holy Alliance, 28; non-intervention, 49; at Messina, 122; invades Italy, 136; captures Rome, 138, 179; alliance with Italy, 238; opposition to war in, 253; war with Prussia, 365

Francis I., Emperor, 24, 32, 95
Francis II., Prince, ascends throne, 278; flees to Papal States, 322; hopes to recover throne, 353
Francis IV., 25, 40, 47, 49, 97, 243
Francis V., 97, 182, 288, 296
Francis, Archduke, 25
Francis Joseph, Emperor, visits Italy, 185; visits Venice and Milan, 225; exasperated with Italy, 258; proclamation by, 265; commands army, 276; at Villafranca, 290
Frappoli, Col., 312
Frattini, Pietro, 189
Free Church in a Free State, A, 340, 368
Free Trade, Cavour favours, 159
Freemasons, the, 31

G

Gaeta, castle of, 124, 134; surrender of, 322
Garibaldi, Joseph, 14; in conspiracy, 67; exploits of, 119; victory of, 136; French defeat of, 139; Anita, wife of, 140; escapes to Liguria, 141; victory of, 179; returns to Nice, 209; meets Cavour, 222; organizes army, 245; enters Como, 276; anger at Cavour, 302; leads insurgents, 309; dictator of Sicily, 316; enters Naples, 318; resentment with Cavour, 343; plans attack on Rome, 356; wounded, 356; in London, 357; sent to Caprera, 363
Garibaldi and The Thousand, 312
Gazzetta del Popolo, La, 227
Gazzetta di Venezia, 330
Genoa, Republic of, 5, 6, 21, 27, 66; railway at, 76, 197; Congress of Scientists at, 91; demands constitution, 103; the Duke of, 110; insurrection at, 150; expedition from, 228; Napoleon III. at, 275
Germany, Austria expects aid from, 262, 268
Ghiringhello, abbé, 156
Gioberti, Vincenzo, arrest of, 66; in Brussels, 78; public opinion with, 83; favours Pope Pius IX., 89; made president, 117; influence of, 125; publishes *Civil Regeneration of Italy*, 163
Giovi tunnel, 197
Giulay, General Francesco, 259, 274
Gladstone, William E., 175, 318
Gli Ultimi Casi di Romagna, 84
Glori, villa, 363
Goethe, 52
Goito, victory of, 109, 159, 264
Graham, Sir James, 177
Grandis, engineer, 228
Grattoni, engineer, 228
Grazioli, Bartolomeo, 188
Greek independence, 45
Gregory XVI., Pope, 47, 49, 83
Grey, Lord, 155
Grioli, Giuseppe, 186
Guerrazzi, 124, 134, 181
Guicciardini's work, 194

H

Hall of the Great Council, 142
Ham, prison of, 235
Hapsburg-Lorraine dynasty, 6, 27
Haynau, General, 133
Hess, Marshal, 276
Holy Alliance, the, 28, 32, 37
Hübner, Baron, 258
Hudson, Sir James, 299, 321
Hungary, insurgents of, 143, 199, 257, 333

I

Il dottor Antonio, 66
Il Fischietto, 225

Il Giorno, by Parini, 9
Il Passatore, 180
Il Primato morale e civile degli Italiani, 78, 163
Il Risorgimento, newspaper, 94; Cavour retires from, 158; Ricasoli in, 285; early numbers of, 340
Il Vascello, 139
Innocent XII., Pope, 371
Inno di Garibaldi, 273
Intrepid, warship, 315
Ionian Islands, 6
Iron crown of Italy, the, 330, 362
Ischia, gaol at, 178
Istria, Venice holds, 6
Italian National Loan, 185
Italian Revival, the, 13, 30, 58, 148
Italian *Risorgimento*, the, 57, 371
Italian tricolour, the, 11, 49, 144, 209, 284
Italian Unity, society of, 174
Italy, unity of, 3; under Spain, 4; secular divisions in, 4; lack of union, 5; jealousies of States, 7; middle classes in, 8; French invasion of, 10; new life in, 13; war of independence, 18; King Joachim, 19; Sardinia and Austria, 27; the Papal States, 26, 82; alliance of Throne and Altar, 28; Napoleon's prediction, 28; revolution in Naples, 31; intervention, 32; Piedmont revolution, 34; reaction, 38; martyrs, 39; passing of revolutionary period, 45; the French Revolution, 46; youth of Mazzini, 52; Liberal ideas of Cavour, 54; *Young Italy*, 63; machinery in industry, 75; first railways, 76; literature, 77; *New Guelf* party, 81; Pius IX., 89; Ferdinand II., 98; Sicilian revolution, 100; Venice and Milan, 107; war of independence, 109; Austrian victories, 118; Garibaldi, 118; defeat of Novara, 132; Brescia, 133; Sicily and Naples, 133; the Roman Republic, 134; Manin, 142; Victor Emmanuel II., 148; D'Azeglio, 150; the Papacy, 178; brigandage, 180; Mantuan trials, 185; mission of Piedmont, 195; the Western Powers, 199; Congress of Paris, 215; the *National Society*, 222; Expedition to Sapri, 228; Napoleon III., 235; the Orsini plot, 237; Plombières, 239; prepares for war, 245; Princess Clotilde, 251; Austria's ultimatum, 262; war of 1859, 273; Villafranca, 290; peace of Zurich, 298; opening of Parliament, 304; unity of Italy, 307; the *Thousand*, 308; the Kingdom of Italy, 328; the Roman question, 337; death of Cavour, 342; capital at Florence, 358; the capital at Rome, 370

J

James Stuart, 204
Jerusalem, King of, 331

K

Kellersberg, Baron, 262
Kossuth, Louis, 257, 295, 333

L

La Concordia, 116
Lætitia, Princess, 252
Lake Maggiore, 76, 120
La Marmora, Gen. Alfonso, 158, 197, 205, 245, 277, 333, 359
La Masa, 311
Lamoricière, General, 319
Lansdowne, Lord, 177

Lanza, President, 364, 369
Lateran Palace, the, 369
Latium, 141
Law of Guarantees, the, 369
Laybach, Congress of, 32, 37
Left, members of the, 165, 355
Leghorn, railway at, 76; resistance at, 134; Austrian troops at, 181; volunteers at, 281; French at, 286
Legnano, fortress of, 108
Le mie Prigioni, 39
Leopardi, 30
Leopold II., Grand Duke, 91; grants constitution, 103; returns to Tuscany, 134; refuses to call Assembly, 181; departure from Tuscany of, 284
Leri, Cavour at, 205
Lesseillon, fort at, 54
Lesseps, Ferdinand de, 137
Liberals, the, 31; enthusiasm of, 79; demands of, 83; frustrate plot, 92; success of, 101; favour war, 128; thrown in prison, 134; protests by the, 137; institutions of, 165; persecution of the, 179; aspirations of the, 194; criticize Cavour, the, 200; growth of, 202; accept Cavour's policy, 229; Sardinia represents the, 269; excitement of the, 278; outbreak of the, 309; gains by the, 358
Liguria, 6, 12, 65
Lissa, Austrian victory at, 361
Literature in Italy, 7
Lombardo, steamer, 313
Lombardy, under Austria, 5; annexed to Italy, 12; changes name, 24; reaction in, 38; Agricultural Congress, 93; revolt in, 107; joins Sardinia, 115; represented in the ministry, 127; insurrection in, 132; amnesty at, 152; under Radetzky, 183; confusion in, 188; Austria caresses, 226; attack on, 266; Napoleon III. at, 278; Austria cedes, 291
London, Victor Emmanuel in, 206
Lorenzo Benoni, 51, 66
Lorraine, House of, 280
Louis XV., 5
Louis Napoleon, 136
Louis Philippe, 49, 123, 235
Louis, Prince, 252
Lucca, Duke of, 6, 98, 243
Ludovisi family, the, 371
Luis of Portugal, King, 356
Luzzatti, Luigi, 346

M

Macaulay, Thomas B., 82
Macchiavelli, Niccolo, 4
Macerata, 18
Madama Palace, 250, 346, 371
Magenta, French victory at, 275, 288
Malenchini, Vincenzo, 281, 284
Malghera Fort, 142
Maltese Islands, 7
Mamiani, Terence, 50, 113, 341
Manara, Luciano, 139
Mancini, protest by, 111
Manin, Daniel, 96, 107, 115, 121, 142, 208, 224, 334
Maniscalco, Salvatore, 178, 308
Mantua, fortress of, 48, 108; arrests at, 186, 189; Duchess of Parma at, 287
Manzoni, Alexander, 18, 38, 105
Marches, the, 12, 48, 141, 288, 319
Marengo, battle of, 12
Margaret of Austria, 371
Margherita, Count Solaro della, 94; opponent of Cavour, 210; criticizes Cavour's policy, 227
Maria Adelaide, 148
Maria Cristina of Savoy, 99, 278
Maria Pia, Princess, 356
Maria Theresa, Empress, 25

Marie Louise, 25, 48, 49, 98
Marocco. Fr. Giacomo, 344
Maroncelli, 39
Marsala, harbour of, 315
Marseilles, Mazzini at, 61; Garibaldi at, 67
Masina and his lancers, 139
Massa, attack on, 240; the rising at, 288
Massari, Joseph, 250, 323
Maximilian, Archduke, 226
Mazzini, Joseph, 14; birth of, 50; described by Ruffini, 51; in Carbonari, 52; organizes *Young Italy*, 53; set at liberty, 61; in exile, 61; letter to Charles Albert, 62; flees to England, 67; on the Bandieri brothers, 80; on the Italian Republic, 81; urges liberty, 92; made dictator, 135; republican ideas of, 184; in rising at Milan, 188; disapproves of Cavour, 228; promotes insurrection, 356
Medici, Giacomo, 139, 317
Menabrea, Count, 165
Menotti, Cyrus, 46, 49
Mentana, French victory at, 363
Mercantini, Luigi, 271
Messina, Straits of, 20; revolt at, 100; bombardment of, 122; tumult at, 309
Mestre, railway to, 76; Austrians at, 142
Metternich, Prince von, 27, 92, 95, 246
Meucci, friend of Garibaldi, 209
Milan, capital of Lombardy, 5; unrest in, 9; railway to, 76; massacre at, 97; rising at, 107; fall of, 118; treaty of, 152; Mazzini in, 188; the entry into, 276; rifles at, 311
Milano, Agesilao, 224
Milazzo, Bourbons at, 317
Mincio, the, 108, 118, 276, 359
Minghetti, minister, 352
Minto, Lord, 94
Misley, 46
Modena, Duchy of, 6; in Cispadane Republic, 10; under Austria, 25; despotism in, 40; rising at, 47, 109; treaty with Austria, 97; annexation with Sardinia, 114; restoration of, 120; hatred of Liberals, 182; oppression, 240; ally of Austria, 269; agitation in, 287; the King at, 313; aspirations to throne, 351
Monaco, principality of, 6
Moncalieri, proclamation of, 153; Castle of, 252
Montanari, Count Carlo, 188
Mont Cenis, tunnel of, 227
Montecitorio Palace, 371
Monteleone, Murat at, 19
Monterotondo, victory at, 363
Monte Video, 119
Monza, railway to, 76; iron crown at, 330
Monzambano, Cavour at, 290
Moravia, 39
Morelli, Lieut., 31
Moro, Domenico, 80
Murat, Joachim, 12, 17, 19, 31, 122
Murat, Prince Lucien, 223, 279

N

Naples, Kingdom of, 5; commerce of, 9; under Murat, 12; Ferdinand in, 18; Carbonari in, 31; reaction in, 38; demands constitution, 101; rising at, 109; Parliament dissolved, 133; against Rome, 137; fall of, 320; aspiration to the throne, 351
Napoleon, at Marengo, 12; King of Italy, 12; fall of, 17; foretells future of Italy, 29; death of, 38
Napoleon III., confers with Cavour, 207; favours Victor Emmanuel, 216; recalls ambassador, 223; life of, 235;

Napoleon—*Continued*
at Plombières, 240; writes to Queen Victoria, 249; orders troops to Piedmont, 263; desires to free Italy, 273; proposes armistice, 290; angered at the Pope, 300; negotiations with, 342; acts as mediator, 361; fall of, 366
Napoleon, Prince Jerome, 242; 252, 286, 366
Napoleon, Louis, 164, 179
National Society, the, 222, 227, 253, 280, 307, 312
Nazari, delegate, 96
Neapolitan Parliament, 32
Neipperg, Marshal, 25
New Guelf party, the, 81, 89
Ney, Colonel, 179
Niccolini's *Arnaldo da Brescia*, 83
Nice, 5, 67, 241, 302, 311
Nigra, minister, 161
Nisco, Nicola, 174
Nisida, gaol at, 178
Nola, town of, 31
Nouvelle Revue, 76
Novara, troops at, 37; demands constitution, 103; the fall of, 132, 147, 197, 330

O

Oporto, Charles Albert at, 132
Orbetello, fortress of, 314
Orsini, Felice, 237
Ottoman Empire, 82
Oudinot, Gen., 136, 138

P

Padua, railway to, 76; massacre at, 97; occupation of, 115
Palazzo delle Segretarie, 277
Paleocapo, motion by, 115
Palermo, proclamation at, 100; provisional government of, 121; fall of, 133; Bentivegna shot at, 224; cathedral of, 308; insurrection at, 309; the retreat to, 316
Palestrina, battle of, 137
Palestro, attack on, 275
Pallavicino, George, death of, 39; founds *National Society*, 222, 280
Pallieri, Count, 288
Palmerston, Lord, 299
Pamfili, villa, 138
Panizzi, Anthony, 40
Pantaleoni, Dr. Diomede, 338
Papal States, the, 5, 9, 18, 21, 26, 47, 49, 70, 79, 82, 92, 109, 122, 163, 180, 217, 314, 351, 363, 367
Pareto, Lorenzo, 152, 328
Parini, Joseph, 9
Paris, entry into, 17; Congress of, 205; Cavour in, 207
Parisian revolution of 1830, 46, 52, 55
Parisian revolution of 1848, 103, 107
Parliaments, calling of, 109; in Naples, 133
Parma, the Duchy of, 6; the Duke of, 12; under Austria, 25, 98; revolution in, 48; rising in, 108; annexed to Sardinia, 114; restoration of, 120; Charles III. of, 182; unites with Piedmont, 287; votes for union, 303; aspirations to throne, 351
Parma, Duchess of, 25; flight of, 48; death of, 98
Pasini, Valentino, 353
Passaglia, Dr., 338
Pastro, Luigi, 189
Pauperism and the Poor Law, 72
Pavia, massacre at, 97
Peel, Sir Robert, 155
Pellico, 39
Pelloni, Stefano, 180
Pepe, Gen. Guglielmo, 31, 33, 111
Pepoli, Marquis, 298
Persano, Admiral, 318, 360
Perugia, subjection of, 288
Peruzzi, Ubaldino, 181, 284
Peschiera, fortress of, 108, 109, 115
Peter Leopold I., 6, 26

Petrarch, quotation from, 222
Piacenza, annexed by France, 12; Marie Louise at, 48; Austrians at, 218
Piazza Barbano, 282
Piazza Castello, 225
Piedmont, France annexes, 12; constitution of, 37; revolutionists of, 51; persecutions at, 66; railways in, 76; military power of, 79; the press at, 94; Parliament in, 115, 150; unrest in, 125; hostilities renewed, 131; fall of, 132; tricolour in, 144; election at, 152; Liberal monarchy of, 184; joins alliance, 199; prestige of, 205; free institutions of, 222; Austria declares war on, 245; alliance with France, 252; French troops in, 263; becomes a kingdom, 327
Piedmontese army, monument to the, 225
Piemonte, steamer, 313
Pietri, 295
Pilo, Rosalino, 309, 316
Piombino, principality of, 6; Gulf of, 141; Straits of, 314
Pisa, Railway to, 76; Scientific Congress at, 78
Pisacano, Carlo, 228
Pitti Palace, the, 370
Pius VII., Pope, 26
Pius IX., Pope, election of, 89; withdraws from national movement, 112; flees from Rome, 123; established in Rome, 140; supports Ferdinand II., 178; returns to Rome, 180; Napoleon III.'s friendship for, 240; breaks with Napoleon, 300; rebellion against, 319; negotiations with, 342; publishes the *Syllabus*, 358
Pizzo, Murat at, 19
Plombières, Cavour at, 239, 273; Napoleon III.'s agreement at, 245, 301
Po, the, 18, 24, 111, 133, 141, 275
Poerio, Alessandro, 175
Poerio, Carlo, 174
Polish insurrection, 66
Poma, Carlo, 187
Ponza, island of, 228
Pope and the Congress, the, 300
Popular party, the, 281
Porta Pia, 367
Portici, railway to, 75; Pope Pius IX. at, 179
Portugal, 132
Prague, treaty of, 361
Prati, Giovanni, 104, 145, 171, 191, 213
Préfecture, the, 277
Press, censorship of the, 28; liberty of the, 90, 181
Priests, government by, 6
Privileged citizens, 8
Procida, gaol of, 178
Protest of the People of the Two Sicilies, 100
Prussia, in Holy Alliance, 28; representative of, 82; neutrality of, 241; alarm in, 278; hostility of, 290; embassy to, 333; Italian alliance with, 359; war with France, 365

Q

Quadrilateral, the, 108, 115, 276, 290, 351
Quarterly Review, the, quoted, 245
Quarto, Garibaldi at, 310
Quirinal Palace, 89, 103, 370

R

Radetzky, Marshal, 97, 114, 118, 131, 142, 149, 183, 226, 259
Radicals, the, 124, 150
Rainer, Archduke, 24, 148
Ramorino, Colonel, 66
Rattazzi-La Marmora ministry, 296, 298
Rattazzi, Urbano, 126, 165, 338, 355, 362

Rayneval, Count de, 224
Re Galantuomo, 162, 330
Re Tentenna, Charles Alberta, 93
Reggio, 10, 12, 100, 182
Reichstadt, Duke of, 235
Renaissance, age of the, 4
Restoration, the, 29, 46
Revel, Deputy Di, 166
Revere, parishioners of, 188
Ribotti, General, 311
Ricasoli, Baron Bettino, 285, 297, 322, 355
Ricasoli, Vincenzo, 285
Ridolfi, Cosimo, 114
Rieti, battle of, 33
Right, members of the, 154, 164
Rimini, battle at, 49; insurrection at, 83; Ribotti at, 311
Rio Grande, Republic of, 119
Robert of Parma, 182
Romagna, 12, 18, 26, 48, 179, 208, 235, 241, 288
Roman Curia, the, 90, 338, 345, 359, 365, 368
Roman Empire, unity of, 3
Rome, embellishment of, 6, 12; capital of Italy, 29; religious metropolis, 79; the press at, 90; reforms in, 95; tumult at, 113; proclaims republic, 134; captured by French, 140, 179; denounced by Clarendon, 217; France and Austria withdraw from, 218; Cavour plans capital at, 338; plans to capture, 351; French leave, 358, 366; Italians enter, 366
Rosas, dictator, 119
Roselli, Giuseppe, 138
Rossetti, Gabriele, 39; composes hymn, 101
Rossi, Pellegrino, 122
Rothschild, Baron de, 256
Rouher, President, 364
Rubattino Company, the, 228, 313
Ruffini, Giovanni, 51, 66
Ruffini, Jacopo, 65, 80
Russell, Lord John, 177, 299, 321
Russell, Odo, 245, 249
Russia, Austrian alliance with, 11, 28; joins Austria, 143; war with France and England, 198; seeks to prevent war, 254

S

Saffi, 135
St. Helena, island of, 25, 38
St. John, Knights of, 7
St. Peter, Patrimony of, 300
St. Petersburg, Bismarck at, 268
Sala dei Cinquecento, 114
Salemi, march to, 315
Salerno, province of, 228
Salic Law, the, 22, 40
Salto, fortress of, 119
Salvagnoli, minister, 286
San Antonio, plains of, 119
San Marino, Republic of, 6, 141
San Martino, battle of, 276, 290
San Marzano, Marquis di, 34
San Pancrazio, Porta, 138
Santa Croce Church, 211
Santa Lucia, battle of, 264
Santarosa, Count di, 34, 37, 45, 54, 156, 344
Sapri, landing at, 228, 309
Sardinia, Kingdom of, 5; alliance with Austria, 10; restoration of, 21; orations at, 91; Parma and Modena annexed, 114; refugees at, 198; the army of, 205, 225; Victor Emmanuel, King of, 328
Savona, prison at, 58
Savoy, dynasty of, 5; refuge in Sardinia, 12; Francis IV., 47; annexation of Genoa, 50; insurgents at, 66; cession to France, 241, 302; Victor Emmanuel receives the crown of, 330
Scarsellini, Angelo, 186
Schiaffino-Giustiniani, Marchesa Anna, 56

Schiller, 52
Scientific Congresses, 78, 91, 96
Sciesa, Antonio, 185
Sedan, French defeat at, 366
Sella, Quintino, 354, 369
Sesia, the, 274
Settembrini, Prof. Luigi, 100, 174
Settimo, Admiral, 110
Shakespeare, William, 52
Siccardi, minister, 154
Sicily, Kingdom of Naples and, 5; constitution of, 20, 32; insurrection in, 99; new institutions, 110; opposition in, 178; government of, 217; despotism in, 224; Garibaldi, 316
Silvati, Lieutenant, 31
Simpson, Commander, 205
Solferino, battle of, 276, 290
Sommeiller, engineer, 228
Sostegno, Marquis de, 159
Spain, triumph of, 4; revolution of 1820, 31; constitution of, 36; constitutionalists in, 45; sends aid to the Pope, 137
Speri, Tito, 188
Spezia, naval port at, 227
Spielberg, fortress of, 39, 96, 222
Spinola, villa, 310
Statue to Piedmontese army, 222
Subalpine Parliament, 198, 201, 263, 304
Suez Canal, the, 137
Superga, church of, 345
Switzerland, Mazzini in, 184; the Kingdom of Italy acknowledged by, 332
Syllabus, the, 358

T

Talamona, Garibaldi at, 314
Tanaro, French army at the, 275
Tazzoli, Enrico, 185
Tchernaja, victory at, 205, 265
Teano, Garibaldi near, 322
Tecchio, Sebastiano, 127
Tegetthof, Admiral, 360
Ten Days of 1849, the, 188
Termini district, 224
Terracina, Spanish at, 137
Thoughts on the Condition of Ireland and its Future, 72
Thousand, expedition of the, 313, 337, 355
Thouvenel, minister, 300
Throne and Altar, alliance of, 28
Ticino, the, 37, 132, 274
Tobacco, boycott of, 97
Tolentino, 18
Tommaseo, Nicolò, 97, 107
Toulon, French fleet at, 363
Tour, Gen. de la, 37
Trentino, the, 189; entry into, 361
Trevelyan, *Garibaldi*, 312
Treviglio, railway to, 76
Treviso, 115
Trieste, Cavour at, 70
Triumvirate, the Roman, 135
Tronto, the, 322
Tuileries, court of, 252
Turin, capital of Piedmont, 5, 21; revolt at, 34; Charles Albert at, 36; Academy of, 53; Cavour at, 55; railway to, 76, 197; demonstration at, 93; deputation to, 101; unrest at, 108; Victor Emmanuel born at, 147; Archbishop of, 156; monument at, 225; French mission to, 239; treaty with France at, 252, 302; Austrian letters sent to, 274; Manin monument at, 334
Türr, Colonel, 314
Tuscany, Charles Albert in, 148; Grand Duke restored in, 180; revolution in, 278; the Moderates in, 281; under Victor Emmanuel, 285; votes for union, 303; volunteers from, 314; aspirations to the throne, 351
Tuscany, Grand Duchy of, 6; commerce of, 8; Grand Duke's flight, 12; railway in,

Tuscany—*Continued*
76; tranquillity of, 91; reforms at, 95; constitution granted, 103; rising at, 109; Parliament at, 114, provisional government, 124; insurrection in, 134

U

Ulloa, General, 283
Umbria, 48, 288, 319
United Italian Provinces, the, 49
United States acknowledges Kingdom of Italy, 332
Uruguay, 119

V

Valerio, Lorenzo, 116
Varese, Austrians defeated at, 276
Varignano, fort of, 356
Vatican, Pius IX. at the, 367
Velletri, battle of, 137
Venice, Republic of, 4, 6, 12, 24, 27; railway to, 76; Athenæum of, 97; rising at, 107; proclaims republic, 114; refuses armistice, 120; capitulation of, 131; resistance by, 142; captured by Austrians, 143; plans for conquest of, 333; to wrest from Austria, 351; plans for liberation of, 357; entry into, 361
Ventimiglia, fort at, 54
Vercelli, demands constitution, 103; district of, 205; occupation of, 275
Verona, fortress of, 108; Austrians retreat to, 290
Versailles, Museum of, 219
Vespers, the, 20
Vicenza, railway to, 76; fall of, 115, 118, 151
Victor Emmanuel I., 21, 33, 40, 243
Victor Emmanuel II., birth of, 147; marriage of, 148; appoints Cavour minister, 158; called *Re Galantuomo*, 162; attention to the army, 197; deaths in family of, 202; visits Paris and London, 205; King of Upper Italy, 241; speech by, 250; issues proclamation, 264; at Palestro, 275; greets Parliament, 304; meets Garibaldi, 322; opens Parliament, 328; supports insurrection, 357; letter to Pius IX., 366; address to Parliament, 367
Victor, Prince, 252
Victoria, Queen, 249
Vienna, Congress of, 18, 21, 23, 98
Vienna, demands constitution, 107; ambassador recalled, 198; advance upon, 241; Lord Cowley visits, 254; Cabinet of, 297; the iron crown at, 330; defence of, 361
Villach, Cavour at, 70
Villafranca, peace of, 289
Viva Pio IX., 90
Volturno, Battle of, 320
Vosges, Department of the, 239

W

Walewski, minister, 216, 256, 300
Warsaw, meeting at, 338
Waterloo, battle of, 19, 235
Wellington, Duke of, 155
William I., King of Prussia, 333, 359

Y

Young Italy Society, 53, 58, 63

Z

Zambelli, Giovanni, 186
Zurich, peace of, 298

HEROES OF THE NATIONS

The following are the first volumes of this well-known series to be issued at the cheaper price of 7s. 6d. net. It is the hope of the Publishers eventually to re-issue the whole series at this price.

Each 7s. 6d. net.

NELSON, AND THE NAVAL SUPREMACY OF ENGLAND. By W. Clark Russell.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, AND THE STRUGGLE OF PROTESTANTISM FOR EXISTENCE. By C. R. L. Fletcher, M.A., late Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.

PERICLES, AND THE GOLDEN AGE OF ATHENS. By Evelyn Abbott, M.A., Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.

THEODORIC THE GOTH, THE BARBARIAN CHAMPION OF CIVILISATION. By Thomas Hodgkin, D.C.L., author of "Italy and Her Invaders," etc.

HENRY OF NAVARRE, AND THE HUGUENOTS IN FRANCE. By P. F. Willert, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

PRINCE HENRY (THE NAVIGATOR) OF PORTUGAL, AND THE AGE OF DISCOVERY IN EUROPE. By C. R. Beazley, M.A., Merton College, Oxford.

LOUIS XIV AND THE ZENITH OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY. By Arthur Hassall, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

LORENZO DE' MEDICI, AND FLORENCE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. By Edward Armstrong, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

OLIVER CROMWELL, AND THE RULE OF THE PURITANS. By Professor C. H. Firth, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford.

WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM (1708-1778), OR THE GROWTH AND DIVISION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE By Walford Davis Green.

HENRY V, THE TYPICAL MEDIÆVAL HERO. By Charles L. Kingsford.

EDWARD PLANTAGENET (EDWARD I), THE ENGLISH JUSTINIAN, OR, THE MAKING OF THE COMMON LAW. By Professor Edward Jenks, M.A.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE OF ROME. By J. B. Firth, Translator of "The Letters of Pliny," etc.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, THE REORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE CHURCH. By J. B. Firth, author of "Augustus Cæsar."

MOHAMMED, AND THE RISE OF ISLAM. By Professor D. S. Margoliouth, New College, Oxford.

MARLBOROUGH, AND THE RISE OF THE BRITISH ARMY. By C. T. Atkinson, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer, Exeter College, Oxford.

JULIUS CÆSAR. By W. Warde Fowler, M.A., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.

NAPOLEON, WARRIOR AND RULER, AND THE MILITARY SUPREMACY OF REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE. By W. O'Connor Morris.

CICERO AND THE FALL OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. By J. L. Strachan-Davidson, M.A., Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, AND THE DOWNFALL OF AMERICAN SLAVERY. By Noah Brooks.

BISMARCK, AND THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE: HOW IT AROSE AND WHAT IT DISPLACED. By J. W. Headlam, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, AND THE MERGING OF EAST AND WEST. By Benjamin Ide Wheeler.

CHARLEMAGNE, THE HERO OF TWO NATIONS. By H. W. C. Davis, M.A., Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.

FREDERICK THE GREAT, AND THE RISE OF PRUSSIA. By W. F. Reddaway, M.A., King's College, Cambridge.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, AND THE RULE OF THE NORMANS. By F. M. Stenton, M.A.Oxon.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL
LIBRARY.
WALLASEY.

GRAMMAR SCHOOL * WALLASEY *

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL
LIBRARY.
WALLASEY.

KV-690-472